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SENECA

AD LUCILIUM EPISTULAE MORALES

Lucius Annaeus

SENECA, the younger

AD LUCILIUM EPISTULAE MORALES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES

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INTRODUCTION

Among the personalities of the early Roman Empire there are few who offer to the readers of to-day such dramatic interest as does Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the author of the Epistles which are translated in this volume. Born in a province, educated at Rome, prominent at the bar, a distinguished exile, a trusted minister of State, and a doomed victim of a capricious emperor, Seneca is so linked with the age in which he lived that in reading his works we read those of a true representative of the most thrilling period of Roman history.

Seneca was born in the year 4 B.C., a time of great opportunity, at Corduba, in Spain, son of the talented rhetorician, Annaeus Seneca. We gather that the family moved to Rome during the boyhood of Lucius, that he was educated for the bar, and that he was soon attracted by the Stoic philosophy, the stern nurse of heroes during the first century of the Empire. That his social connexions were distinguished we infer from the prominence and refinement of his brother Gallio,—the Gallio of the New Testament,—from the fact that he himself was noticed and almost condemned to death by the Emperor Caligula soon after he began to speak in public, and especially because his aunt, whom he

visited in Egypt, was the wife of the governor of that country.

Up to the year 41 he prospered. He makes mention of his children, of his mother who, like the mother of Goethe, seems to have imbued him with idealism and a certain amount of mysticism, and of many valued friends. But during that year, as a result of court intrigue, he was banished to the island of Corsica. The charge against him was a too great intimacy with Iulia Livilla, unfortunate sister of the late emperor, and the arch-foe of Messalina, whose husband, Claudius, had recalled the princess from exile. We may discount any crime on Seneca's part because even the gossip-laden Suetonius says: "The charge was vague and the accused was given no opportunity to defend himself."

The eight years of exile were productive of much literary work. The tragedies, which have had such influence on later drama, are the fruit of this period, besides certain essays on philosophic subjects, and a rather cringing letter to Polybius, a rich freedman at the court of Claudius. In 49, however, Fortune, whom Seneca as a Stoic so often ridicules, came to his rescue. Agrippina had him recalled and appointed tutor to her young son, later to become the Emperor Nero. Holding the usual offices of state, and growing in prominence, Seneca administered the affairs of the prince, in partnership with Burrus, the praetorian. Together they maintained the balance of power between throne and Senate until the death of Burrus in the year 62. After that time, a philosopher without the support of military power was unable to cope with the vices and whims of the monster on the throne.

The last two years of Seneca's life were spent in

travelling about southern Italy, composing essays on natural history and relieving his burdened soul by correspondence with his friend Lucilius. In the year 65 came his suicide, anticipating an act of violence on the Emperor's part; in this deed of heroism he was nobly supported by his young wife Paulina. The best account of these dark days is given in Tacitus.

These letters are all addressed to Lucilius. From internal evidence we gather that the native country of this Lucilius was Campania, and his native city Pompeii or Naples. He was a Roman knight, having gained that position, as Seneca tells us, by sheer industry. Prominent in the civil service, he had filled many important positions and was, at the time when the *Letters* were written, procurator in Sicily. He seems to have had Epicurean tendencies, like so many men from this part of Italy; the author argues and tries to win him over to Stoicism, in the kindliest manner. Lucilius wrote books, was interested in philosophy and geography, knew intimately many persons in high places, and is thought by some to be the author of the extant poem *Aetna*.

When their friendship began we cannot say. The *Naturales Quaestiones* and the *Letters* are the work of Seneca's closing years. Both are addressed to Lucilius. The essay *De Providentia*, which was also dedicated to him, is of doubtful date, and may be fixed at any time between the beginning of the exile in Corsica and the period when the *Letters* were written.

In spite of the many problems which confront us, it may be safely said that the years 63–65 constitute the period of the *Letters*. We find possible allusions

to the Campanian earthquake of 63, a reference to the conflagration at Lyons, which took place either in 64 or in 65, and various hints that the philosopher was travelling about Italy in order to forget politics.

The form of this work, as Bacon says, is a collection of essays rather than of letters. The recipient is often mentioned by name; but his identity is secondary to the main purpose. The language at the beginning of the seventy-fifth letter, for example, might lead one to suppose that they were dashed off in close succession: "You complain that you receive from me letters which are rather carelessly written;" but the ingenious juxtaposition of effective words, the balance in style and thought, and the continual striving after point, indicate that the language of the diatribe had affected the informality of the epistle.[1]

The structure of each letter is interesting. A concrete fact, such as the mention of an illness, a voyage by sea or land, an incident like the adventure in the Naples tunnel, a picnic party, or an assemblage of friends who discuss questions from Plato, or Aristotle, or Epicurus,—these are the elements which serve to justify the reflections which follow. After such an introduction, the writer takes up his theme; he deals with abstract subjects, such as the contempt of death, the stout-heartedness of the sage, or the quality of the Supreme Good. We shall not mention the sources of all these topics in footnotes, but shall aim only to explain that which is obscure in meaning or unusual in its import. Plato's Theory of Ideas, Aristotle's Categories, Theophrastus on

[1] How Seneca came by this "pointed" style will be evident to one who reads the sample speeches given in the handbook of the Elder Seneca.

Friendship, Epicurus on Pleasure, and all the countless doctrinal shades of difference which we find in the Stoic leaders, are at least sketched in outline.

But we must give full credit to the philosopher's own originality. In these letters, it is impossible to ignore the advance from a somewhat stiff and Ciceronian point of view into the attractive and debatable land of what one may fairly call modern ideas. The style of the Epistles is bold, and so is the thought.

Considered *en masse*, the letters form a fruitful and helpful handbook, of the very widest scope and interest. The value of intelligent reading and the studies which make for culture is presented to Lucilius with frequency, notably in Nos. II. and LXXXVIII. Seneca agrees with the definition of higher studies as "those which have no reference to mere utility." The dignity of the orator's profession (XL. and CXIV.) is brought to the attention of a young self-made merchant who seems inclined towards platform display. The modern note is struck when the author protests against the swinish and debasing effects of slavery or gladiatorial combats (XLVII. and LXX.); preaches against the degeneracy of drunkenness (LXXXIII.); portrays the charms of plain living and love of nature (LVII., LXVII., LXXIX., LXXXVI., LXXXVII., XC., XCIV.); recommends retirement (XVIII., LI., LVI., LXXX., CXXII.); or manifests a Baconian interest in scientific inventions (LVII., LXXIX.). Most striking of all is the plea (XCIV.) for the equality of the sexes and for conjugal fidelity in the husband, to be interpreted no less strictly than honour on the part of the wife. The craze for athletics is also analyzed and rebuked (XV.).

The Epistles contain also, of course, the usual literary types which every Roman epistolographer would feel bound to introduce. There is the *consolatio*; there is the theme of friendship; there are second-hand lectures on philosophy taken from Plato and Aristotle and Theophrastus, as we have indicated above; and several characteristically Roman laudations of certain old men (including the author himself) who wrestle with physical infirmities. But the Stoic doctrine is interpreted better, from the Roman point of view, by no other Latin writer. The facts of Seneca's life prove the sincerity of his utterances, and blunt the edge of many of the sneers which we find in Dio Cassius, regarding the fabulous sums which he had out at interest and the costly tables purchased for the palace of a millionaire.

Finally, in no pagan author, save perhaps Vergil, is the beauty of holiness (XLI.) so sincerely presented from a Roman standpoint. Although his connexion with the early Church has been disproved, Seneca shows the modern, the Christian, spirit. Three of the ideals mentioned above, the hatred of combats in the arena, the humane treatment of slaves, and the sanctity of marriage, draw us towards Seneca as towards a teacher like Jeremy Taylor.

There is no pretence of originality in the Latin text; the translator has adopted, with very few deviations, that of O. Hense's second edition. This text he has found to be excellent, and he has also derived assistance from the notes accompanying the Selected Letters of W. C. Summers.

RICHARD M. GUMMERE.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE, *May*, 1916.

THE TEXT

The manuscripts of the *Letters* fall into two clearly defined parts; from I. to LXXXVIII. inclusive, and from LXXXIX. to CXXIV. They are divided into books; but in this translation we shall number them only by letters. For a more detailed description the reader is referred to Hense's preface to the 1914 Teubner edition.

MSS. available for the first part of the *Letters* are—

(1) Two Paris MSS. of the 10th century, p and P.
(2) Another Paris MS. of the 11th century, b.
(3) The *codex Laurentianus*, of the 9th or 10th century, containing letters I.-LXV. This is designated as L.
(4) The *codex Venetus*, of the same date, containing Nos. LIII.-LXXXVIII. V.
(5) The *codex Metensis*, of the 11th century, known as M.
(6) The *codex Gudianus*, of the 10th century, which contains scraps of the earliest letters. Designated as g.

For the second part of the *Letters*, LXXXIX.-CXXIV., there is a more limited choice. The best MS. is—

Codex Bambergensis, of the 9th century, known as B.
Codex Argentoratensis, A, which was destroyed in the siege of Strassburg, of the 9th or 10th century.

Other MSS., either of less importance or of later date, may be found in Hense's preface.[1]

[1] Where the testimony of these later MSS. seems sound, the translator has omitted Hense's brackets; the headings of the books into which the *Letters* were originally divided are also omitted.

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EDITIONS

1475.—Editio Princeps, Naples. In this were included most of the philosopher's works, together with several by the elder Seneca. The Epistles were published separately, in the same year, at Paris, Rome, and Strassburg.

1515.—Erasmus, Basle.

1605.—J. Lipsius, Antwerp.

1649–1658.—J. F. Gronovius (together with the Elder Seneca), Leyden.

1797–1811.—F. E. Ruhkopf, Leipzig.

1842.—C. R. Fickert, Leipzig.

1852.—F. Haase, Leipzig.

1898.—O. Hense, Leipzig.

1908.—Allan P. Ball, *Selected Essays of Seneca*, etc., New York. This edition contains a few of the letters.

1910.—W. C. Summers, London. (Selections.)

1914.—O. Hense, Leipzig. (Second edition.)

There have been many others; but these are the most important.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

1614.—Thomas Lodge, London.

1673.—Sir Roger L'Estrange, *Seneca's Morals by Way of Abstract*, London.

1786.—T. Morell, D.D., London.

1888.—The Camelot Series contains some selections, put together from Lodge and L'Estrange. Edited by Walter Clode.

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GENERAL WORKS

The best life of Seneca is by René Waltz, Paris, 1909. A selection of the most important special works on this subject is given in an appendix to the volume. The editions of Ball and Hense also contain helpful bibliographies.

For an understanding of Seneca's influence on later writers the reader is referred to section C of Professor Summers' edition.

An excellent account of Seneca's place in the history of Stoicism may be found in the work of E. V. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, Cambridge, 1911, and in C. Martha's *Les Moralistes sous l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1900, pages 1-100.

Canon F. W. Farrar's *Seekers After God* contains a chapter on Seneca and his religious significance.

S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, London, 1903, is also of value.

THE EPISTLES OF SENECA

L. ANNAEI SENECAE AD LUCILIUM EPISTULAE

I.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Ita fac, mi Lucili; vindica te tibi, et tempus, quod adhuc aut auferebatur aut subripiebatur aut excidebat, collige et serva. Persuade tibi hoc sic esse, ut scribo: quaedam tempora eripiuntur nobis, quaedam subducuntur, quaedam effluunt. Turpissima tamen est iactura, quae per neglegentiam fit. Et si volueris attendere, maxima pars vitae elabitur male agentibus, magna nihil agentibus, tota vita aliud agentibus.
2 Quem mihi dabis, qui aliquod pretium tempori ponat, qui diem aestimet, qui intellegat se cotidie mori? In hoc enim fallimur, quod mortem prospicimus; magna pars eius iam praeterit. Quicquid aetatis retro est, mors tenet.

Fac ergo, mi Lucili, quod facere te scribis, omnes horas conplectere. Sic fiet, ut minus ex crastino pendeas, si hodierno manum inieceris. Dum dif-

THE EPISTLES OF SENECA

I. ON SAVING TIME

Greetings from Seneca to his friend Lucilius.

CONTINUE to act thus, my dear Lucilius—set yourself free for your own sake ; gather and save your time, which till lately has been forced from you, or filched away, or has merely slipped from your hands. Make yourself believe the truth of my words,—that certain moments are torn from us, that some are gently removed, and that others glide beyond our reach. The most disgraceful kind of loss, however, is that due to carelessness. Furthermore, if you will pay close heed to the problem, you will find that the largest portion of our life passes while we are doing ill, a goodly share while we are doing nothing, and the whole while we are doing that which is not to the purpose. What man can you show me who places any value on his time, who reckons the worth of each day, who understands that he is dying daily? For we are mistaken when we look forward to death ; the major portion of death has already passed. Whatever years lie behind us are in death's hands.

Therefore, Lucilius, do as you write me that you are doing : hold every hour in your grasp. Lay hold of to-day's task, and you will not need to depend so much upon to-morrow's. While we are postponing,

3 fertur, vita transcurrit. Omnia, Lucili, aliena sunt, tempus tantum nostrum est. In huius rei unius fugacis ac lubricae possessionem natura nos misit, ex qua expellit quicumque vult. Et tanta stultitia mortalium est, ut quae minima et vilissima sunt, certe reparabilia, imputari sibi, cum impetravere, patiantur; nemo se iudicet quicquam debere, qui tempus accepit, cum interim hoc unum est, quod ne gratus quidem potest reddere.

4 Interrogabis fortasse, quid ego faciam, qui tibi ista praecipio. Fatebor ingenue: quod apud luxuriosum sed diligentem evenit, ratio mihi constat inpensae. Non possum me dicere[1] nihil perdere, sed quid perdam et quare et quemadmodum, dicam; causas paupertatis meae reddam, sed evenit mihi, quod plerisque non suo vitio ad inopiam redactis: omnes ignoscunt, nemo succurrit.

5 Quid ergo est? Non puto pauperem, cui quantulumcumque superest, sat est. Tu tamen malo serves tua, et bono tempore incipies. Nam ut visum est maioribus nostris, sera parsimonia in fundo est. Non enim tantum minimum in imo, sed pessimum remanet. Vale.

[1] *me dicere* Hense; *dicere me* or *dicere nihil me* MSS.

[a] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 369.

life speeds by. Nothing, Lucilius, is ours, except time. We were entrusted by nature with the ownership of this single thing, so fleeting and slippery that anyone who will can oust us from possession. What fools these mortals be! They allow the cheapest and most useless things, which can easily be replaced, to be charged in the reckoning, after they have acquired them; but they never regard themselves as in debt when they have received some of that precious commodity,—time! And yet time is the one loan which even a grateful recipient cannot repay.

You may desire to know how I, who preach to you so freely, am practising. I confess frankly: my expense account balances, as you would expect from one who is free-handed but careful. I cannot boast that I waste nothing, but I can at least tell you what I am wasting, and the cause and manner of the loss; I can give you the reasons why I am a poor man. My situation, however, is the same as that of many who are reduced to slender means through no fault of their own: every one forgives them, but no one comes to their rescue.

What is the state of things, then? It is this: I do not regard a man as poor, if the little which remains is enough for him. I advise you, however, to keep what is really yours; and you cannot begin too early. For, as our ancestors believed, it is too late to spare when you reach the dregs of the cask.[a] Of that which remains at the bottom, the amount is slight, and the quality is vile. Farewell.

II.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Ex iis quae mihi scribis, et ex iis quae audio, bonam spem de te concipio; non discurris nec locorum mutationibus inquietaris. Aegri animi ista iactatio est. Primum argumentum conpositae mentis
2 existimo posse consistere et secum morari. Illud autem vide, ne ista lectio auctorum multorum et omnis generis voluminum habeat aliquid vagum et instabile. Certis ingeniis inmorari et innutriri oportet, si velis aliquid trahere, quod in animo fideliter sedeat. Nusquam est, qui ubique est. Vitam in peregrinatione exigentibus hoc evenit, ut multa hospitia habeant, nullas amicitias. Idem accidat necesse est iis, qui nullius se ingenio familiariter applicant, sed
3 omnia cursim et properantes transmittunt. Non prodest cibus nec corpori accedit, qui statim sumptus emittitur; nihil aeque sanitatem impedit quam remediorum crebra mutatio; non venit vulnus ad cicatricem, in quo medicamenta temptantur; non convalescit planta, quae saepe transfertur. Nihil tam utile est, ut in transitu prosit. Distringit librorum multitudo.

Itaque cum legere non possis, quantum habueris,
4 satis est habere, quantum legas. "Sed modo," inquis, "hunc librum evolvere volo, modo illum." Fastidientis stomachi est multa degustare; quae ubi

II. ON DISCURSIVENESS IN READING

Judging by what you write me, and by what I hear, I am forming a good opinion regarding your future. You do not run hither and thither and distract yourself by changing your abode; for such restlessness is the sign of a disordered spirit. The primary indication, to my thinking, of a well-ordered mind is a man's ability to remain in one place and linger in his own company. Be careful, however, lest this reading of many authors and books of every sort may tend to make you discursive and unsteady. You must linger among a limited number of master-thinkers, and digest their works, if you would derive ideas which shall win firm hold in your mind. Everywhere means nowhere. When a person spends all his time in foreign travel, he ends by having many acquaintances, but no friends. And the same thing must hold true of men who seek intimate acquaintance with no single author, but visit them all in a hasty and hurried manner. Food does no good and is not assimilated into the body if it leaves the stomach as soon as it is eaten; nothing hinders a cure so much as frequent change of medicine; no wound will heal when one salve is tried after another; a plant which is often moved can never grow strong. There is nothing so efficacious that it can be helpful while it is being shifted about. And in reading of many books is distraction.

Accordingly, since you cannot read all the books which you may possess, it is enough to possess only as many books as you can read. "But," you reply, "I wish to dip first into one book and then into another." I tell you that it is the sign of an over-nice appetite to toy with many dishes; for when

varia sunt et diversa, inquinant, non alunt. Probatos
itaque semper lege, et si quando ad alios deverti
libuerit, ad priores redi. Aliquid cotidie adversus
paupertatem, aliquid adversus mortem auxilii com-
para, nec minus adversus ceteras pestes; et cum
multa percurreris, unum excerpe, quod illo die con-
5 coquas. Hoc ipse quoque facio; ex pluribus, quae
legi, aliquid adprehendo.

Hodiernum hoc est, quod apud Epicurum nanctus
sum; soleo enim et in aliena castra transire, non
6 tamquam transfuga, sed tamquam explorator. "Ho-
nesta," inquit, "res est laeta paupertas." Illa vero
non est paupertas, si laeta est. Non qui parum
habet, sed qui plus cupit, pauper est. Quid enim
refert, quantum illi in arca, quantum in horreis
iaceat, quantum pascat aut feneret, si alieno inminet,
si non adquisita sed adquirenda computat? Quis
sit divitiarum modus, quaeris? Primus habere quod
necesse est, proximus quod sat est. VALE.

III.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Epistulas ad me perferendas tradidisti, ut scribis, amico tuo; deinde admones me, ne omnia cum eo ad te pertinentia communicem, quia non soleas ne ipse quidem id facere; ita in[1] eadem epistula illum et

[1] *ita in* Gertz; *ita* AL.

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[a] Frag. 475 Usener.

they are manifold and varied, they cloy but do not nourish. So you should always read standard authors; and when you crave a change, fall back upon those whom you read before. Each day acquire something that will fortify you against poverty, against death, indeed against other misfortunes as well; and after you have run over many thoughts, select one to be thoroughly digested that day. This is my own custom; from the many things which I have read, I claim some one part for myself.

The thought for to-day is one which I discovered in Epicurus [a]; for I am wont to cross over even into the enemy's camp,—not as a deserter, but as a scout. He says: "Contented poverty is an honourable estate." Indeed, if it be contented, it is not poverty at all. It is not the man who has too little, but the man who craves more, that is poor. What does it matter how much a man has laid up in his safe, or in his warehouse, how large are his flocks and how fat his dividends, if he covets his neighbour's property, and reckons, not his past gains, but his hopes of gains to come? Do you ask what is the proper limit to wealth? It is, first, to have what is necessary, and, second, to have what is enough. Farewell.

III. ON TRUE AND FALSE FRIENDSHIP

You have sent a letter to me through the hand of a "friend" of yours, as you call him. And in your very next sentence you warn me not to discuss with him all the matters that concern you, saying that even you yourself are not accustomed to do this; in other words, you have in the same letter affirmed

dixisti amicum et negasti. Itaque si[1] proprio illo verbo quasi publico usus es et sic illum amicum vocasti, quomodo omnes candidatos bonos viros dicimus, quomodo obvios, si nomen non succurrit, dominos
2 salutamus, hac abierit. Sed si aliquem amicum existimas, cui non tantundem credis quantum tibi, vehementer erras et non satis nosti vim verae amicitiae. Tu vero omnia cum amico delibera, sed de ipso prius. Post amicitiam credendum est, ante amicitiam iudicandum. Isti vero praepostero officia permiscent, qui contra praecepta Theophrasti, cum amaverunt, iudicant, et non amant, cum iudicaverunt. Diu cogita, an tibi in amicitiam aliquis recipiendus sit. Cum placuerit fieri, toto illum pectore admitte;
3 tam audaciter cum illo loquere quam tecum. Tu quidem ita vive, ut nihil tibi committas, nisi quod committere etiam inimico tuo possis; sed quia interveniunt quaedam, quae consuetudo fecit arcana, cum amico omnes curas, omnes cogitationes tuas misce. Fidelem si putaveris, facies. Nam quidam fallere docuerunt, dum timent falli, et illi ius peccandi suspicando fecerunt. Quid est, quare ego ulla verba coram amico meo retraham? Quid est, quare me coram illo non putem solum?

[1] *si* Hense; *sic* MSS.

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[a] *i.e.*, a word which has a special significance to the Stoics; see *Ep.* xlviii., note. [b] Frag. 74 Wimmer.

and denied that he is your friend. Now if you used this word of ours[a] in the popular sense, and called him "friend" in the same way in which we speak of all candidates for election as "honourable gentlemen," and as we greet all men whom we meet casually, if their names slip us for the moment, with the salutation "my dear sir,"—so be it. But if you consider any man a friend whom you do not trust as you trust yourself, you are mightily mistaken and you do not sufficiently understand what true friendship means. Indeed, I would have you discuss everything with a friend; but first of all discuss the man himself. When friendship is settled, you must trust; before friendship is formed, you must pass judgment. Those persons indeed put last first and confound their duties, who, violating the rules of Theophrastus,[b] judge a man after they have made him their friend, instead of making him their friend after they have judged him. Ponder for a long time whether you shall admit a given person to your friendship; but when you have decided to admit him, welcome him with all your heart and soul. Speak as boldly with him as with yourself. As to yourself, although you should live in such a way that you trust your own self with nothing which you could not entrust even to your enemy, yet, since certain matters occur which convention keeps secret, you should share with a friend at least all your worries and reflections. Regard him as loyal, and you will make him loyal. Some, for example, fearing to be deceived, have taught men to deceive; by their suspicions they have given their friend the right to do wrong. Why need I keep back any words in the presence of my friend? Why should I not regard myself as alone when in his company?

4 Quidam quae tantum amicis committenda sunt, obviis narrant et in quaslibet aures, quicquid illos urserit, exonerant. Quidam rursus etiam carissimorum conscientiam reformidant, et si possent, ne sibi quidem credituri interius premunt omne secretum. Neutrum faciendum est. Utrumque enim vitium est, et omnibus credere et nulli. Sed alterum honestius
5 dixerim vitium, alterum tutius; sic utrosque reprehendas, et eos qui semper inquieti sunt, et eos qui semper quiescunt. Nam illa tumultu gaudens non est industria, sed exagitatae mentis concursatio. Et haec non est quies, quae motum omnem molestiam
6 iudicat, sed dissolutio et languor. Itaque hoc, quod apud Pomponium legi, animo mandabitur: "quidam adeo in latebras refugerunt, ut putent in turbido esse, quicquid in luce est." Inter se ista miscenda sunt, et quiescenti agendum et agenti quiescendum est. Cum rerum natura delibera; illa dicet tibi et diem fecisse se et noctem. VALE.

IIII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Persevera ut coepisti et quantum potes propera, quo diutius frui emendato animo et conposito possis. Frueris quidem etiam dum emendas, etiam dum con-

[a] See Index.

There is a class of men who communicate, to anyone whom they meet, matters which should be revealed to friends alone, and unload upon the chance listener whatever irks them. Others, again, fear to confide in their closest intimates; and if it were possible, they would not trust even themselves, burying their secrets deep in their hearts. But we should do neither. It is equally faulty to trust every one and to trust no one. Yet the former fault is, I should say, the more ingenuous, the latter the more safe. In like manner you should rebuke these two kinds of men,—both those who always lack repose, and those who are always in repose. For love of bustle is not industry,—it is only the restlessness of a hunted mind. And true repose does not consist in condemning all motion as merely vexation; that kind of repose is slackness and inertia. Therefore, you should note the following saying, taken from my reading in Pomponius[a]: "Some men shrink into dark corners, to such a degree that they see darkly by day." No, men should combine these tendencies, and he who reposes should act and he who acts should take repose. Discuss the problem with Nature; she will tell you that she has created both day and night. Farewell.

IV. ON THE TERRORS OF DEATH

Keep on as you have begun, and make all possible haste, so that you may have longer enjoyment of an improved mind, one that is at peace with itself. Doubtless you will derive enjoyment during the time

ponis; alia tamen illa voluptas est, quae percipitur ex contemplatione mentis ab omni labe purae et
2 splendidae. Tenes utique memoria, quantum senseris gaudium, cum praetexta posita sumpsisti virilem togam et in forum deductus es; maius expecta, cum puerilem animum deposueris et te in viros philosophia transscripserit. Adhuc enim non pueritia sed, quod est gravius, puerilitas remanet. Et hoc quidem peior[1] est, quod auctoritatem habemus senum, vitia puerorum, nec puerorum tantum sed infantum. Illi levia, hi falsa formidant, nos utraque.

3 Profice modo; intelleges quaedam ideo minus timenda, quia multum metus adferunt. Nullum malum est[2] magnum, quod extremum est. Mors ad te venit; timenda erat, si tecum esse posset; sed[2] necesse est aut non perveniat aut transeat.

4 "Difficile est," inquis, "animum perducere ad contemptionem animae." Non vides, quam ex frivolis causis contemnatur? Alius ante amicae fores laqueo pependit, alius se praecipitavit e tecto, ne dominum stomachantem diutius audiret, alius ne reduceretur e fuga, ferrum adegit in viscera. Non putas virtutem hoc effecturam, quod efficit nimia formido? Nulli potest secura vita contingere, qui de producenda nimis cogitat, qui inter magna bona multos consules

[1] Hense, after Gertz, adds *res* after *peior*.
[2] *malum est* and *sed* inserted by Gertz.

when you are improving your mind and setting it at peace with itself; but quite different is the pleasure which comes from contemplation when one's mind is so cleansed from every stain that it shines. You remember, of course, what joy you felt when you laid aside the garments of boyhood and donned the man's toga, and were escorted to the forum; nevertheless, you may look for a still greater joy when you have laid aside the mind of boyhood and when wisdom has enrolled you among men. For it is not boyhood that still stays with us, but something worse,—boyishness. And this condition is all the more serious because we possess the authority of old age, together with the follies of boyhood, yea, even the follies of infancy. Boys fear trifles, children fear shadows, we fear both.

All you need to do is to advance; you will thus understand that some things are less to be dreaded, precisely because they inspire us with great fear. No evil is great which is the last evil of all. Death arrives; it would be a thing to dread, if it could remain with you. But death must either not come at all, or else must come and pass away.

"It is difficult, however," you say, "to bring the mind to a point where it can scorn life." But do you not see what trifling reasons impel men to scorn life? One hangs himself before the door of his mistress; another hurls himself from the house-top that he may no longer be compelled to bear the taunts of a bad-tempered master; a third, to be saved from arrest after running away, drives a sword into his vitals. Do you not suppose that virtue will be as efficacious as excessive fear? No man can have a peaceful life who thinks too much about lengthening it, or believes that living through many consulships is a great bless-

5 numerat. Hoc cotidie meditare, ut possis aequo
animo vitam relinquere, quam multi sic conplectuntur
et tenent, quomodo qui aqua torrente rapiuntur spinas
et aspera.

Plerique inter mortis metum et vitae tormenta
miseri fluctuantur et vivere nolunt, mori nesciunt.
6 Fac itaque tibi iucundam vitam omnem pro illa
sollicitudinem deponendo. Nullum bonum adiuvat
habentem, nisi ad cuius amissionem praeparatus est
animus; nullius autem rei facilior amissio est, quam
quae desiderari amissa non potest. Ergo adversus
haec, quae incidere possunt etiam potentissimis, ad-
7 hortare te et indura. De Pompei capite pupillus et
spado tulere sententiam, de Crasso crudelis et insolens
Parthus; Gaius Caesar iussit Lepidum Dextro tribuno
praebere cervicem, ipse Chaereae praestitit. Nemi-
nem eo fortuna provexit, ut non tantum illi minaretur,
quantum permiserat. Noli huic tranquillitati con-
fidere; momento mare evertitur. Eodem die ubi
8 luserunt navigia, sorbentur. Cogita posse et latronem
et hostem admovere iugulo tuo gladium. Ut potestas
maior absit, nemo non servus habet in te vitae necisque
arbitrium. Ita dico: quisquis vitam suam contemp-
sit, tuae dominus est. Recognosce exempla eorum,
qui domesticis insidiis perierunt, aut aperta vi aut
dolo; intelleges non pauciores servorum ira cecidisse
quam regum. Quid ad te itaque, quam potens sit

[a] A reference to the murder of Caligula, on the Palatine, A.D. 41.

ing. Rehearse this thought every day, that you may be able to depart from life contentedly; for many men clutch and cling to life, even as those who are carried down a rushing stream clutch and cling to briars and sharp rocks.

Most men ebb and flow in wretchedness between the fear of death and the hardships of life; they are unwilling to live, and yet they do not know how to die. For this reason, make life as a whole agreeable to yourself by banishing all worry about it. No good thing renders its possessor happy, unless his mind is reconciled to the possibility of loss; nothing, however, is lost with less discomfort than that which, when lost, cannot be missed. Therefore, encourage and toughen your spirit against the mishaps that afflict even the most powerful. For example, the fate of Pompey was settled by a boy and a eunuch, that of Crassus by a cruel and insolent Parthian. Gaius Caesar ordered Lepidus to bare his neck for the axe of the tribune Dexter; and he himself offered his own throat to Chaerea.[a] No man has ever been so far advanced by Fortune that she did not threaten him as greatly as she had previously indulged him. Do not trust her seeming calm; in a moment the sea is moved to its depths. The very day the ships have made a brave show in the games, they are engulfed. Reflect that a highwayman or an enemy may cut your throat; and, though he is not your master, every slave wields the power of life and death over you. Therefore I declare to you: he is lord of your life that scorns his own. Think of those who have perished through plots in their own homes, slain either openly or by guile; you will then understand that just as many have been killed by angry slaves as by angry kings. What matter, therefore, how power-

quem times, cum id, propter quod times, nemo non
9 possit? At si forte in manus hostium incideris, victor te duci iubebit; eo nempe, quo duceris. Quid te ipse decipis et hoc nunc primum, quod olim patiebaris, intellegis? Ita dico: ex quo natus es, duceris. Haec et eiusmodi versanda in animo sunt, si volumus ultimam illam horam placidi expectare, cuius metus omnes alias inquietas facit.

10 Sed ut finem epistulae inponam, accipe, quod mihi hodierno die placuit. Et hoc quoque ex alienis hortulis sumptum est. "Magnae divitiae sunt lege naturae composita paupertas." Lex autem illa naturae scis quos nobis terminos statuat? Non esurire, non sitire, non algere. Ut famem sitimque depellas, non est necesse superbis adsidere liminibus nec supercilium grave et contumeliosam etiam humanitatem pati, non est necesse maria temptare nec sequi castra; parabile est, quod natura desiderat,
11 et adpositum. Ad supervacua sudatur. Illa sunt, quae togam conterunt, quae nos senescere sub tentorio cogunt, quae in aliena litora inpingunt. Ad manum est, quod sat est. Cui cum paupertate bene convenit, dives est. VALE.

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[a] *i.e.*, to death.
[b] The Garden of Epicurus. Fragg. 477 and 200 Usener.

ful he be whom you fear, when every one possesses the power which inspires your fear? "But," you will say, "if you should chance to fall into the hands of the enemy, the conqueror will command that you be led away,"—yes, whither you are already being led.[a] Why do you voluntarily deceive yourself and require to be told now for the first time what fate it is that you have long been labouring under? Take my word for it: since the day you were born you are being led thither. We must ponder this thought, and thoughts of the like nature, if we desire to be calm as we await that last hour, the fear of which makes all previous hours uneasy.

But I must end my letter. Let me share with you the saying which pleased me to-day. It, too, is culled from another man's Garden[b]: "Poverty, brought into conformity with the law of nature, is great wealth." Do you know what limits that law of nature ordains for us? Merely to avert hunger, thirst, and cold. In order to banish hunger and thirst, it is not necessary for you to pay court at the doors of the purse-proud, or to submit to the stern frown, or to the kindness that humiliates; nor is it necessary for you to scour the seas, or go campaigning; nature's needs are easily provided and ready to hand. It is the superfluous things for which men sweat,—the superfluous things that wear our togas threadbare, that force us to grow old in camp, that dash us upon foreign shores. That which is enough is ready to our hands. He who has made a fair compact with poverty is rich. Farewell.

V.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Quod pertinaciter studes et omnibus omissis hoc unum agis, ut te meliorem cotidie facias, et probo et gaudeo, nec tantum hortor, ut perseveres, sed etiam rogo. Illud autem te admoneo, ne eorum more, qui non proficere sed conspici cupiunt, facias aliqua, quae in habitu tuo aut genere vitae notabilia sint.
2 Asperum cultum et intonsum caput et neglegentiorem barbam et indictum argento odium et cubile humi positum, et quicquid aliud ambitio nempe perversa[1] via sequitur, evita. Satis ipsum nomen philosophiae, etiam si modeste tractetur, invidiosum est; quid si nos hominum consuetudini coeperimus excerpere? Intus omnia dissimilia sint, frons populo nostra
3 conveniat. Non splendeat toga, ne sordeat quidem. Non habeamus argentum, in quod solidi auri caelatura descenderit, sed non putemus frugalitatis indicium auro argentoque caruisse. Id agamus, ut meliorem vitam sequamur quam vulgus, non ut contrariam; alioquin quos emendari volumus, fugamus a nobis et avertimus. Illud quoque efficimus, ut nihil imitari velint nostri, dum timent, ne imitanda sint omnia.

4 Hoc primum philosophia promittit, sensum communem, humanitatem et congregationem. A qua professione dissimilitudo nos separabit. Videamus,

[1] *ambitio nempe perversa* Gertz; *ambitionem perversa* MSS.

EPISTLE V.

V. THE PHILOSOPHER'S MEAN

1 I commend you and rejoice in the fact that you are persistent in your studies, and that, putting all else aside, you make it each day your endeavour to become a better man. I do not merely exhort you to keep at it; I actually beg you to do so. I warn you, however, not to act after the fashion of those who desire to be conspicuous rather than to improve, by doing things which will rouse comment as regards your dress or general way of living. Repellent attire, unkempt hair, slovenly beard, open scorn of silver dishes, a couch on the bare earth, and any other perverted forms of self-display, are to be avoided. The mere name of philosophy, however quietly pursued, is an object of sufficient scorn; and what would happen if we should begin to separate ourselves from the customs of our fellow-men? Inwardly, we ought to be different in all respects, but our exterior should conform to society. Do not wear too fine, nor yet too frowzy, a toga. One needs no silver plate, encrusted and embossed in solid gold; but we should not believe the lack of silver and gold to be proof of the simple life. Let us try to maintain a higher standard of life than that of the multitude, but not a contrary standard; otherwise, we shall frighten away and repel the very persons whom we are trying to improve. We also bring it about that they are unwilling to imitate us in anything, because they are afraid lest they might be compelled to imitate us in everything.

The first thing which philosophy undertakes to give is fellow-feeling with all men; in other words, sympathy and sociability. We part company with our promise if we are unlike other men. We must

ne ista, per quae admirationem parare volumus, ridicula et odiosa sint. Nempe propositum nostrum est secundum naturam vivere; hoc contra naturam est, torquere corpus suum et faciles odisse munditias et squalorem adpetere et cibis non tantum vilibus uti
5 sed taetris et horridis. Quemadmodum desiderare delicatas res luxuriae est, ita usitatas et non magno parabiles fugere dementiae. Frugalitatem exigit philosophia, non poenam, potest autem esse non incompta frugalitas. Hic mihi modus placet: temperetur vita inter bonos mores et publicos; suspiciant omnes vitam nostram, sed agnoscant.

6 "Quid ergo? Eadem faciemus, quae ceteri? Nihil inter nos et illos intererit?" Plurimum. Dissimiles esse nos vulgo sciat, qui inspexerit propius. Qui domum intraverit, nos potius miretur quam supellectilem nostram. Magnus ille est, qui fictilibus sic utitur quemadmodum argento. Nec ille minor est, qui sic argento utitur quemadmodum fictilibus. Infirmi animi est pati non posse divitias.

7 Sed ut huius quoque diei lucellum tecum communicem, apud Hecatonem nostrum inveni cupiditatium finem etiam ad timoris remedia proficere. "Desines," inquit, "timere, si sperare desieris." Dices: "Quomodo ista tam diversa pariter eunt[1]?" Ita est, mi Lucili: cum videantur dissidere, coniuncta sunt. Quemadmodum eadem catena et custodiam et militem copulat, sic ista, quae tam dissimilia sunt,

[1] *eunt* Volkmann; *sunt* MSS.

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[a] *i.e.*, of the Stoic school. [b] Frag. 25 Fowler.

see to it that the means by which we wish to draw admiration be not absurd and odious. Our motto,[a] as you know, is "Live according to Nature"; but it is quite contrary to nature to torture the body, to hate unlaboured elegance, to be dirty on purpose, to eat food that is not only plain, but disgusting and forbidding. Just as it is a sign of luxury to seek out dainties, so it is madness to avoid that which is customary and can be purchased at no great price. Philosophy calls for plain living, but not for penance; and we may perfectly well be plain and neat at the same time. This is the mean of which I approve; our life should observe a happy medium between the ways of a sage and the ways of the world at large; all men should admire it, but they should understand it also.

"Well then, shall we act like other men? Shall there be no distinction between ourselves and the world?" Yes, a very great one; let men find that we are unlike the common herd, if they look closely. If they visit us at home, they should admire us, rather than our household appointments. He is a great man who uses earthenware dishes as if they were silver; but he is equally great who uses silver as if it were earthenware. It is the sign of an unstable mind not to be able to endure riches.

But I wish to share with you to-day's profit also. I find in the writings of our[b] Hecato that the limiting of desires helps also to cure fears: "Cease to hope," he says, "and you will cease to fear." "But how," you will reply, "can things so different go side by side?" In this way, my dear Lucilius: though they do seem at variance, yet they are really united. Just as the same chain fastens the prisoner and the soldier who guards him, so hope and fear, dissimilar as they

8 pariter incedunt; spem metus sequitur. Nec miror ista sic ire; utrumque pendentis animi est, utrumque futuri exspectatione solliciti. Maxima autem utriusque causa est, quod non ad praesentia aptamur, sed cogitationes in longinqua praemittimus. Itaque providentia, maximum bonum condicionis humanae,
9 in malum versa est. Ferae pericula, quae vident, fugiunt; cum effugere, securae sunt; nos et venturo torquemur et praeterito. Multa bona nostra nobis nocent, timoris enim tormentum memoria reducit, providentia anticipat. Nemo tantum praesentibus miser est. Vale.

VI.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Intellego, Lucili, non emendari me tantum sed transfigurari. Nec hoc promitto iam aut spero, nihil in me superesse, quod mutandum sit. Quidni multa habeam, quae debeant colligi, quae extenuari, quae attolli? Et hoc ipsum argumentum est in melius translati animi, quod vitia sua, quae adhuc ignorabat, videt. Quibusdam aegris gratulatio fit, cum ipsi aegros se esse senserunt.

2 Cuperem itaque tecum communicare tam subitam mutationem mei; tunc amicitiae nostrae certiorem fiduciam habere coepissem, illius verae, quam non

are, keep step together; fear follows hope. I am not surprised that they proceed in this way; each alike belongs to a mind that is in suspense, a mind that is fretted by looking forward to the future. But the chief cause of both these ills is that we do not adapt ourselves to the present, but send our thoughts a long way ahead. And so foresight, the noblest blessing of the human race, becomes perverted. Beasts avoid the dangers which they see, and when they have escaped them are free from care; but we men torment ourselves over that which is to come as well as over that which is past. Many of our blessings bring bane to us; for memory recalls the tortures of fear, while foresight anticipates them. The present alone can make no man wretched. Farewell.

VI. ON SHARING KNOWLEDGE

I feel, my dear Lucilius, that I am being not only reformed, but transformed. I do not yet, however, assure myself, or indulge the hope, that there are no elements left in me which need to be changed. Of course there are many that should be made more compact, or made thinner, or be brought into greater prominence. And indeed this very fact is proof that my spirit is altered into something better,—that it can see its own faults, of which it was previously ignorant. In certain cases sick men are congratulated because they themselves have perceived that they are sick.

I therefore wish to impart to you this sudden change in myself; I should then begin to place a surer trust in our friendship,—the true friendship,

spes, non timor, non utilitatis suae cura divellit, illius, cum qua homines moriuntur, pro qua moriuntur.
3 Multos tibi dabo, qui non amico, sed amicitia caruerunt. Hoc non potest accidere, cum animos in societatem honesta cupiendi par voluntas trahit. Quidni non possit? Sciunt enim ipsos omnia habere communia, et quidem magis adversa.

Concipere animo non potes, quantum momenti
4 adferre mihi singulos dies videam. "Mitte," inquis, "et nobis ista, quae tam efficacia expertus es." Ego vero omnia in te cupio transfundere, et in hoc aliquid gaudeo discere, ut doceam. Nec me ulla res delectabit, licet sit eximia et salutaris, quam mihi uni sciturus sum. Si cum hac exceptione detur sapientia, ut illam inclusam teneam nec enuntiem, reiciam. Nullius boni sine socio iucunda possessio est.

5 Mittam itaque ipsos tibi libros et ne multum operae inpendas, dum passim profutura sectaris, inponam notas, ut ad ipsa protinus, quae probo et miror, accedas. Plus tamen tibi et viva vox et convictus quam oratio proderit. In rem praesentem venias oportet, primum, quia homines amplius oculis quam auribus credunt; deinde, quia longum iter est per praecepta, breve et efficax per exempla.
6 Zenonem Cleanthes non expressisset, si tantummodo audisset; vitae eius interfuit, secreta perspexit,

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[a] Cf. Herodotus, i. 8 ὦτα τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν.

which hope and fear and self-interest cannot sever, the friendship in which and for the sake of which men meet death. I can show you many who have lacked, not a friend, but a friendship; this, however, cannot possibly happen when souls are drawn together by identical inclinations into an alliance of honourable desires. And why can it not happen? Because in such cases men know that they have all things in common, especially their troubles.

You cannot conceive what distinct progress I notice that each day brings to me. And when you say: "Give me also a share in these gifts which you have found so helpful," I reply that I am anxious to heap all these privileges upon you, and that I am glad to learn in order that I may teach. Nothing will ever please me, no matter how excellent or beneficial, if I must retain the knowledge of it to myself. And if wisdom were given me under the express condition that it must be kept hidden and not uttered, I should refuse it. No good thing is pleasant to possess, without friends to share it.

I shall therefore send to you the actual books; and in order that you may not waste time in searching here and there for profitable topics, I shall mark certain passages, so that you can turn at once to those which I approve and admire. Of course, however, the living voice and the intimacy of a common life will help you more than the written word. You must go to the scene of action, first, because men put more faith in their eyes than in their ears,[a] and second, because the way is long if one follows precepts, but short and helpful, if one follows patterns. Cleanthes could not have been the express image of Zeno, if he had merely heard his lectures; he shared in his life, saw into his

observavit illum, an ex formula sua viveret. Platon et Aristoteles et omnis in diversum itura sapientium turba plus ex moribus quam ex verbis Socratis traxit; Metrodorum et Hermarchum et Polyaenum magnos viros non schola Epicuri sed contubernium fecit. Nec in hoc te accerso tantum, ut proficias, sed ut prosis; plurimum enim alter alteri conferemus.

7 Interim quoniam diurnam tibi mercedulam debeo, quid me hodie apud Hecatonem delectaverit dicam. "Quaeris," inquit, "quid profecerim? Amicus esse mihi coepi." Multum profecit; numquam erit solus. Scito hunc amicum omnibus esse. Vale.

VII.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Quid tibi vitandum praecipue existimes, quaeris? Turbam. Nondum illi tuto committeris. Ego certe confitebor inbecillitatem meam; numquam mores, quos extuli, refero. Aliquid ex eo, quod conposui, turbatur; aliquid ex iis, quae fugavi, redit. Quod aegris evenit, quos longa inbecillitas usque eo adfecit, ut nusquam sine offensa proferantur, hoc

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[a] Frag. 26 Fowler.

hidden purposes, and watched him to see whether he lived according to his own rules. Plato, Aristotle, and the whole throng of sages who were destined to go each his different way, derived more benefit from the character than from the words of Socrates. It was not the class-room of Epicurus, but living together under the same roof, that made great men of Metrodorus, Hermarchus, and Polyaenus. Therefore I summon you, not merely that you may derive benefit, but that you may confer benefit; for we can assist each other greatly.

Meanwhile, I owe you my little daily contribution; you shall be told what pleased me to-day in the writings of Hecato[a]; it is these words: "What progress, you ask, have I made? I have begun to be a friend to myself." That was indeed a great benefit; such a person can never be alone. You may be sure that such a man is a friend to all mankind. Farewell.

VII. ON CROWDS

Do you ask me what you should regard as especially to be avoided? I say, crowds; for as yet you cannot trust yourself to them with safety. I shall admit my own weakness, at any rate; for I never bring back home the same character that I took abroad with me. Something of that which I have forced to be calm within me is disturbed; some of the foes that I have routed return again. Just as the sick man, who has been weak for a long time, is in such a condition that he cannot be taken out of

accidit nobis, quorum animi ex longo morbo re-
2 ficiuntur. Inimica est multorum conversatio; nemo
non aliquod nobis vitium aut commendat aut inprimit
aut nescientibus adlinit. Utique quo maior est
populus, cui miscemur, hoc periculi plus est.

Nihil vero tam damnosum bonis moribus quam in
aliquo spectaculo desidere. Tunc enim per volup-
3 tatem facilius vitia subrepunt. Quid me existimas
dicere? Avarior redeo, ambitiosior, luxuriosior, im-
mo vero crudelior et inhumanior, quia inter homines
fui. Casu in meridianum spectaculum incidi lusus
expectans et sales et aliquid laxamenti, quo hominum
oculi ab humano cruore adquiescant; contra est.
Quicquid ante pugnatum est, misericordia fuit. Nunc
omissis nugis mera homicidia sunt. Nihil habent quo
tegantur, ad ictum totis corporibus expositi numquam
4 frustra manum mittunt. Hoc plerique ordinariis pari-
bus et postulaticiis praeferunt. Quidni praeferant?
Non galea, non scuto repellitur ferrum. Quo muni-
menta? Quo artes? Omnia ista mortis morae sunt.
Mane leonibus et ursis homines, meridie spectatoribus
suis obiciuntur. Interfectores interfecturis iubent
obici et victorem in aliam detinent caedem. Exitus
pugnantium mors est; ferro et igne res geritur. Haec
5 fiunt, dum vacat harena. "Sed latrocinium fecit

[a] During the luncheon interval condemned criminals were often driven into the arena and compelled to fight, for the amusement of those spectators who remained throughout the day.

the house without suffering a relapse, so we ourselves are affected when our souls are recovering from a lingering disease. To consort with the crowd is harmful; there is no person who does not make some vice attractive to us, or stamp it upon us, or taint us unconsciously therewith. Certainly, the greater the mob with which we mingle, the greater the danger.

But nothing is so damaging to good character as the habit of lounging at the games; for then it is that vice steals subtly upon one through the avenue of pleasure. What do you think I mean? I mean that I come home more greedy, more ambitious, more voluptuous, and even more cruel and inhuman,—because I have been among human beings. By chance I attended a mid-day exhibition, expecting some fun, wit, and relaxation,—an exhibition at which men's eyes have respite from the slaughter of their fellow-men. But it was quite the reverse. The previous combats were the essence of compassion; but now all the trifling is put aside and it is pure murder.[a] The men have no defensive armour. They are exposed to blows at all points, and no one ever strikes in vain. Many persons prefer this programme to the usual pairs and to the bouts "by request." Of course they do; there is no helmet or shield to deflect the weapon. What is the need of defensive armour, or of skill? All these mean delaying death. In the morning they throw men to the lions and the bears; at noon, they throw them to the spectators. The spectators demand that the slayer shall face the man who is to slay him in his turn; and they always reserve the latest conqueror for another butchering. The outcome of every fight is death, and the means are fire and sword. This sort of thing goes on while the arena is empty. You

aliquis, occidit hominem." Quid ergo?[1] Quia occidit ille, meruit ut hoc pateretur; tu quid meruisti miser, ut hoc spectes? "Occide, verbera, ure! Quare tam timide incurrit in ferrum? Quare parum audacter occidit? Quare parum libenter moritur? Plagis agatur[2] in vulnera, mutuos ictus nudis et obviis pectoribus excipiant." Intermissum est spectaculum: "interim iugulentur homines, ne nihil agatur."

Age, ne hoc quidem intellegitis, mala exempla in eos redundare, qui faciunt? Agite dis inmortalibus gratias, quod eum docetis esse crudelem, qui non pot-
6 est discere. Subducendus populo est tener animus et parum tenax recti; facile transitur ad plures. Socrati et Catoni et Laelio excutere morem suum dissimilis multitudo potuisset; adeo nemo nostrum, qui cum maxime concinnamus ingenium, ferre impetum vitiorum tam magno comitatu venientium potest.
7 Unum exemplum luxuriae aut avaritiae multum mali facit; convictor delicatus paulatim enervat et emollit, vicinus dives cupiditatem inritat, malignus comes quamvis candido et simplici rubiginem suam adfricuit. Quid tu accidere his moribus credis, in quos publice factus est impetus? Necesse est aut imiteris aut oderis.

[1] So Hense; *quid ergo occidit hominem* MSS.
[2] *agatur* Rossbach; *agitur* MSS.

[a] The remark is addressed to the brutalized spectators.

may retort: "But he was a highway robber; he killed a man!" And what of it? Granted that, as a murderer, he deserved this punishment, what crime have you committed, poor fellow, that you should deserve to sit and see this show? In the morning they cried "Kill him! Lash him! Burn him! Why does he meet the sword in so cowardly a way? Why does he strike so feebly? Why doesn't he die game? Whip him to meet his wounds! Let them receive blow for blow, with chests bare and exposed to the stroke!" And when the games stop for the intermission, they announce: "A little throat-cutting in the meantime, so that there may still be something going on!"

Come now; do you[a] not understand even this truth, that a bad example reacts on the agent? Thank the immortal gods that you are teaching cruelty to a person who cannot learn to be cruel. The young character, which cannot hold fast to righteousness, must be rescued from the mob; it is too easy to side with the majority. Even Socrates, Cato, and Laelius might have been shaken in their moral strength by a crowd that was unlike them; so true it is that none of us, no matter how much he cultivates his abilities, can withstand the shock of faults that approach, as it were, with so great a retinue. Much harm is done by a single case of indulgence or greed; the familiar friend, if he be luxurious, weakens and softens us imperceptibly; the neighbour, if he be rich, rouses our covetousness; the companion, if he be slanderous, rubs off some of his rust upon us, even though we be spotless and sincere. What then do you think the effect will be on character, when the world at large assaults it! You must either imitate or loathe the world.

8 Utrumque autem devitandum est; neve similis malis fias, quia multi sunt, neve inimicus multis, quia dissimiles sunt. Recede in te ipsum, quantum potes. Cum his versare, qui te meliorem facturi sunt. Illos admitte, quos tu potes facere meliores. Mutuo ista
9 fiunt, et homines, dum docent, discunt. Non est quod te gloria publicandi ingenii producat in medium, ut recitare istis velis aut disputare; quod facere te vellem, si haberes isti populo idoneam mercem; nemo est, qui intellegere te possit. Aliquis fortasse, unus aut alter incidet, et hic ipse formandus tibi erit instituendusque ad intellectum tui. "Cui ergo ista didici?" Non est quod timeas, ne operam perdideris; tibi [1] didicisti.

10 Sed ne soli mihi hodie didicerim, communicabo tecum, quae occurrerunt mihi egregie dicta circa eundem fere sensum tria; ex quibus unum haec epistula in debitum solvet, duo in antecessum accipe. Democritus ait: "Unus mihi pro populo est, et populus
11 pro uno." Bene et ille, quisquis fuit, ambigitur enim de auctore, cum quaereretur ab illo, quo tanta diligentia artis spectaret ad paucissimos perventurae, "Satis sunt," inquit, "mihi pauci, satis est unus, satis est nullus." Egregie hoc tertium Epicurus, cum uni

[1] *tibi* b, Hense; *si tibi* LP.

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[a] Frag. 302 [a] Diels[2].
[b] Frag. 208 Usener.

But both courses are to be avoided; you should not copy the bad simply because they are many, nor should you hate the many because they are unlike you. Withdraw into yourself, as far as you can. Associate with those who will make a better man of you. Welcome those whom you yourself can improve. The process is mutual; for men learn while they teach. There is no reason why pride in advertising your abilities should lure you into publicity, so that you should desire to recite or harangue before the general public. Of course I should be willing for you to do so if you had a stock-in-trade that suited such a mob; as it is, there is not a man of them who can understand you. One or two individuals will perhaps come in your way, but even these will have to be moulded and trained by you so that they will understand you. You may say: "For what purpose did I learn all these things?" But you need not fear that you have wasted your efforts; it was for yourself that you learned them.

In order, however, that I may not to-day have learned exclusively for myself, I shall share with you three excellent sayings, of the same general purport, which have come to my attention. This letter will give you one of them as payment of my debt; the other two you may accept as a contribution in advance. Democritus[a] says: "One man means as much to me as a multitude, and a multitude only as much as one man." The following also was nobly spoken by someone or other, for it is doubtful who the author was; they asked him what was the object of all this study applied to an art that would reach but very few. He replied: "I am content with few, content with one, content with none at all." The third saying—and a noteworthy one, too—is by Epicurus,[b]

ex consortibus studiorum suorum scriberet: "Haec," inquit, "ego non multis, sed tibi; satis enim magnum
12 alter alteri theatrum sumus." Ista, mi Lucili, condenda in animum sunt, ut contemnas voluptatem ex plurium adsensione venientem. Multi te laudant. Ecquid[1] habes, cur placeas tibi, si is es, quem intellegant multi? Introrsus bona tua spectent. VALE.

VIII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 "Tu me," inquis, "vitare turbam iubes, secedere et conscientia esse contentum? Ubi illa praecepta vestra, quae imperant in actu mori?" Quod ego tibi videor interim suadere, in hoc me recondidi et fores clusi, ut prodesse pluribus possem. Nullus mihi per otium dies exit. Partem noctium studiis vindico. Non vaco somno sed succumbo, et oculos vigilia fati-
2 gatos cadentesque in opere detineo. Secessi non tantum ab hominibus, sed a rebus, et inprimis a meis rebus; posterorum negotium ago; illis aliqua, quae possint prodesse, conscribo. Salutares admonitiones, velut medicamentorum utilium compositiones, litteris mando, esse illas efficaces in meis ulceribus expertus, quae etiam si persanata non sunt, serpere desierunt.

[1] *ecquid* Erasmus; *et quid* MSS.

[a] As contrasted with the general Stoic doctrine of taking part in the world's work.

written to one of the partners of his studies: "I write this not for the many, but for you; each of us is enough of an audience for the other." Lay these words to heart, Lucilius, that you may scorn the pleasure which comes from the applause of the majority. Many men praise you; but have you any reason for being pleased with yourself, if you are a person whom the many can understand? Your good qualities should face inwards. Farewell.

VIII. ON THE PHILOSOPHER'S SECLUSION

"Do you bid me," you say, "shun the throng, and withdraw from men, and be content with my own conscience? Where are the counsels of your school, which order a man to die in the midst of active work?" As to the course [a] which I seem to you to be urging on you now and then, my object in shutting myself up and locking the door is to be able to help a greater number. I never spend a day in idleness; I appropriate even a part of the night for study. I do not allow time for sleep but yield to it when I must, and when my eyes are wearied with waking and ready to fall shut, I keep them at their task. I have withdrawn not only from men, but from affairs, especially from my own affairs; I am working for later generations, writing down some ideas that may be of assistance to them. There are certain wholesome counsels, which may be compared to prescriptions of useful drugs; these I am putting into writing; for I have found them helpful in ministering to my own sores, which, if not wholly cured, have at any rate ceased to spread.

3 Rectum iter, quod sero cognovi et lassus errando, aliis monstro. Clamo: "Vitate, quaecumque vulgo placent, quae casus adtribuit. Ad omne fortuitum bonum suspiciosi pavidique subsistite; et fera et piscis spe aliqua oblectante decipitur. Munera ista fortunae putatis? Insidiae sunt. Quisquis vestrum tutam agere vitam volet, quantum plurimum potest, ista viscata beneficia devitet, in quibus hoc quoque miserrimi fallimur; habere nos putamus, haeremus.

4 In praecipitia cursus iste deducit. Huius eminentis vitae exitus cadere est. Deinde ne resistere quidem licet, cum coepit transversos agere felicitas, aut saltim rectis aut semel ruere; non evertit[1] fortuna, sed cernulat et allidit.

5 Hanc ergo sanam ac salubrem formam vitae tenete, ut corpori tantum indulgeatis, quantum bonae valitudini satis est. Durius tractandum est, ne animo male pareat. Cibus famem sedet, potio sitim extinguat, vestis arceat frigus, domus munimentum sit adversus infesta corporis. Hanc utrum caespes erexerit an varius lapis gentis alienae, nihil interest; scitote tam bene hominem culmo quam auro tegi. Contemnite omnia, quae supervacuus labor velut ornamentum ac decus ponit. Cogitate nihil praeter

[1] *evertit* the edition of Mentelin; *vertit* MSS.

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[a] See *Ep.* lxxxv. 33 for the famous saying of the Rhodian pilot.

[b] *cernulat*, equivalent to the Greek ἀναχαιτίζω, of a horse which throws a rider over its head.

I point other men to the right path, which I have found late in life, when wearied with wandering. I cry out to them: "Avoid whatever pleases the throng: avoid the gifts of Chance! Halt before every good which Chance brings to you, in a spirit of doubt and fear; for it is the dumb animals and fish that are deceived by tempting hopes. Do you call these things the 'gifts' of Fortune? They are snares. And any man among you who wishes to live a life of safety will avoid, to the utmost of his power, these limed twigs of her favour, by which we mortals, most wretched in this respect also, are deceived; for we think that we hold them in our grasp, but they hold us in theirs. Such a career leads us into precipitous ways, and life on such heights ends in a fall. Moreover, we cannot even stand up against prosperity when she begins to drive us to leeward; nor can we go down, either, 'with the ship at least on her course,' or once for all[a]; Fortune does not capsize us,—she plunges our bows under[b] and dashes us on the rocks.

"Hold fast, then, to this sound and wholesome rule of life; that you indulge the body only so far as is needful for good health. The body should be treated more rigorously, that it may not be disobedient to the mind. Eat merely to relieve your hunger; drink merely to quench your thirst; dress merely to keep out the cold; house yourself merely as a protection against personal discomfort. It matters little whether the house be built of turf, or of variously coloured imported marble; understand that a man is sheltered just as well by a thatch as by a roof of gold. Despise everything that useless toil creates as an ornament and an object of beauty. And reflect that nothing except the soul is worthy

animum esse mirabile, cui magno nihil magnum est."

6 Si haec mecum, si haec cum posteris loquor, non videor tibi plus prodesse, quam cum ad vadimonium advocatus descenderem, aut tabulis testamenti anulum inprimerem, aut in senatu candidato vocem et manum commodarem? Mihi crede, qui nihil agere videntur, maiora agunt; humana divinaque simul tractant.

7 Sed iam finis faciendus est et aliquid, ut institui, pro hac epistula dependendum. Id non de meo fiet; adhuc Epicurum complicamus, cuius hanc vocem hodierno die legi: "Philosophiae servias oportet, ut tibi contingat vera libertas." Non differtur in diem, qui se illi subiecit et tradidit; statim circumagitur. Hoc enim ipsum philosophiae servire libertas est.

8 Potest fieri, ut me interroges, quare ab Epicuro tam multa bene dicta referam potius quam nostrorum. Quid est tamen, quare tu istas Epicuri voces putes esse, non publicas? Quam multi poetae dicunt, quae philosophis aut dicta sunt aut dicenda! Non adtingam tragicos nec togatas nostras. Habent enim hae quoque aliquid severitatis et sunt inter comoedias ac tragoedias mediae. Quantum disertissimorum versuum inter mimos iacet! Quam multa Publilii non excalceatis, sed coturnatis dicenda sunt!
9 Unum versum eius, qui ad philosophiam pertinet et

[a] *Cf.* the Stoic precept "nil admirandum."

[b] Frag. 199 Usener.

[c] Literally "spun round" by the master and dismissed to freedom. *Cf.* Persius, v. 75 f.

[d] *Fabulae togatae* were plays which dealt with Roman subject matter, as contrasted with adaptations from the Greek, called *palliatae*. The term, in the widest sense, includes both comedy and tragedy.

[e] *i.e.*, comedians or mimes.

of wonder; for to the soul, if it be great, naught is great."[a]

When I commune in such terms with myself and with future generations, do you not think that I am doing more good than when I appear as counsel in court, or stamp my seal upon a will, or lend my assistance in the senate, by word or action, to a candidate? Believe me, those who seem to be busied with nothing are busied with the greater tasks; they are dealing at the same time with things mortal and things immortal.

But I must stop, and pay my customary contribution, to balance this letter. The payment shall not be made from my own property; for I am still conning Epicurus.[b] I read to-day, in his works, the following sentence: "If you would enjoy real freedom, you must be the slave of Philosophy." The man who submits and surrenders himself to her is not kept waiting; he is emancipated[c] on the spot. For the very service of Philosophy is freedom.

It is likely that you will ask me why I quote so many of Epicurus's noble words instead of words taken from our own school. But is there any reason why you should regard them as sayings of Epicurus and not common property? How many poets give forth ideas that have been uttered, or may be uttered, by philosophers! I need not touch upon the tragedians and our writers of national drama[d]; for these last are also somewhat serious, and stand half-way between comedy and tragedy. What a quantity of sagacious verses lie buried in the mime! How many of Publilius's lines are worthy of being spoken by buskin-clad actors, as well as by wearers of the slipper[e]! I shall quote one verse of his, which concerns philosophy, and particularly that phase

ad hanc partem, quae modo fuit in manibus, referam, quo negat fortuita in nostro habenda :

Alienum est omne, quicquid optando evenit.

10 Hunc sensum [1] a te dici non paulo melius et [2] adstrictius memini :

Non est tuum, fortuna quod fecit tuum.

Illud etiamnunc melius dictum a te non praeteribo :

Dari bonum quod potuit, auferri potest.

Hoc non inputo in solutum ; dedi [3] de tuo tibi.

IX.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 An merito reprehendat in quadam epistula Epicurus eos, qui dicunt sapientem se ipso esse contentum et propter hoc amico non indigere, desideras scire. Hoc obicitur Stilboni ab Epicuro et iis quibus summum bonum visum est animus inpatiens.

2 In ambiguitatem incidendum est, si exprimere ἀπάθειαν uno verbo cito voluerimus et inpatientiam dicere. Poterit enim contrarium ei, quod significare volumus, intellegi. Nos eum volumus dicere, qui respuat omnis mali sensum ; accipietur is, qui nullum

[1] *sensum* Buecheler ; *versum* MSS.
[2] *et* Muretus ; *sed* MSS.
[3] *dedi* inserted by Hense.

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[a] *Syri Sententiae*, p. 309 Ribbeck².
[b] *Com. Rom. Frag.* p. 394 Ribbeck².
[c] *ibidem.* [d] Frag. 174 Usener. [e] *i.e.*, the Cynics.

of it which we were discussing a moment ago, wherein he says that the gifts of Chance are not to be regarded as part of our possessions:

> Still alien is whatever you have gained
> By coveting.[a]

I recall that you yourself expressed this idea much more happily and concisely:

> What Chance has made yours is not really yours.[b]

And a third, spoken by you still more happily, shall not be omitted:

> The good that could be given, can be removed.[c]

I shall not charge this up to the expense account, because I have given it to you from your own stock. Farewell.

IX. ON PHILOSOPHY AND FRIENDSHIP

You desire to know whether Epicurus is right when, in one of his letters,[d] he rebukes those who hold that the wise man is self-sufficient and for that reason does not stand in need of friendships. This is the objection raised by Epicurus against Stilbo and those who believe[e] that the Supreme Good is a soul which is insensible to feeling.

We are bound to meet with a double meaning if we try to express the Greek term "lack of feeling" summarily, in a single word, rendering it by the Latin word *impatientia*. For it may be understood in the meaning the opposite to that which we wish it to have. What we mean to express is, a soul which rejects any sensation of evil; but people will interpret the idea

ferre possit malum. Vide ergo, num satius sit aut invulnerabilem animum dicere aut animum extra
3 omnem patientiam positum. Hoc inter nos et illos interest: noster sapiens vincit quidem incommodum omne, sed sentit; illorum ne sentit quidem. Illud nobis et illis commune est: sapientem se ipso esse contentum. Sed tamen et amicum habere vult et vicinum et contubernalem, quamvis sibi ipse sufficiat.
4 Vide quam sit se contentus; aliquando sui parte contentus est. Si illi manum aut morbus aut hostis exciderit, si quis oculum vel oculos casus excusserit, reliquiae illi suae satisfacient, et erit inminuto corpore et amputato tam laetus, quam integro[1] fuit. Sed
5 quae si[2] desunt, non desiderat, non deesse mavult. Ita sapiens se contentus est, non ut velit esse sine amico, sed ut possit. Et hoc, quod dico "possit," tale est: amissum aequo animo fert.

Sine amico quidem numquam erit. In sua potestate habet, quam cito reparet. Quomodo si perdiderit Phidias statuam, protinus alteram faciet; sic hic faciendarum amicitiarum artifex substituet alium
6 in locum amissi. Quaeris, quomodo amicum cito facturus sit; dicam, si illud mihi tecum convenerit, ut statim tibi solvam, quod debeo, et quantum ad hanc epistulam, paria faciamus. Hecaton ait: "Ego tibi monstrabo amatorium sine medicamento, sine herba, sine ullius veneficae carmine: si vis amari, ama." Habet autem non tantum usus amicitiae

[1] *integro* b[1]; *in integro* the other MSS.
[2] *si* Buecheler and Watzinger; *sibi* MSS.

[a] *i.e.*, the Cynics. [b] *i.e.*, the *diurna mercedula*; see *Ep.* vi. 7.
[c] Frag. 27 Fowler.

as that of a soul which can endure no evil. Consider, therefore, whether it is not better to say "a soul that cannot be harmed," or "a soul entirely beyond the realm of suffering." There is this difference between ourselves and the other school [a]: our ideal wise man feels his troubles, but overcomes them; their wise man does not even feel them. But we and they alike hold this idea,—that the wise man is self-sufficient. Nevertheless, he desires friends, neighbours, and associates, no matter how much he is sufficient unto himself. And mark how self-sufficient he is; for on occasion he can be content with a part of himself. If he lose a hand through disease or war, or if some accident puts out one or both of his eyes, he will be satisfied with what is left, taking as much pleasure in his impaired and maimed body as he took when it was sound. But while he does not pine for these parts if they are missing, he prefers not to lose them. In this sense the wise man is self-sufficient, that he can do without friends, not that he desires to do without them. When I say "can," I mean this: he endures the loss of a friend with equanimity.

But he need never lack friends, for it lies in his own control how soon he shall make good a loss. Just as Phidias, if he lose a statue, can straightway carve another, even so our master in the art of making friendships can fill the place of a friend he has lost. If you ask how one can make oneself a friend quickly, I will tell you, provided we are agreed that I may pay my debt [b] at once and square the account, so far as this letter is concerned. Hecato [c] says: "I can show you a philtre, compounded without drugs, herbs, or any witch's incantation: 'If you would be loved, love.'" Now there is great

veteris et certae magnam voluptatem, sed etiam
7 initium et comparatio novae. Quod interest inter metentem agricolam et serentem, hoc inter eum, qui amicum paravit et qui parat. Attalus philosophus dicere solebat iucundius esse amicum facere quam habere, quomodo artifici iucundius pingere est quam pinxisse. Illa in opere suo occupata sollicitudo ingens oblectamentum habet in ipsa occupatione. Non aeque delectatur, qui ab opere perfecto removit manum. Iam fructu artis suae fruitur; ipsa fruebatur arte, cum pingeret. Fructuosior est adulescentia liberorum, sed infantia dulcior.

8 Nunc ad propositum revertamur. Sapiens, etiam si contentus est se, tamen habere amicum vult, si nihil aliud, ut exerceat amicitiam, ne tam magna virtus iaceat, non ad hoc, quod dicebat Epicurus in hac ipsa epistula, "ut habeat, qui sibi aegro adsideat, succurrat in vincula coniecto vel inopi," sed ut habeat aliquem, cui ipse aegro adsideat, quem ipse circumventum hostili custodia liberet. Qui se spectat et propter hoc ad amicitiam venit, male cogitat. Quemadmodum coepit, sic desinet: paravit amicum adversum vincla laturum opem; cum primum crepuerit
9 catena, discedet. Hae sunt amicitiae, quas temporarias populus appellat; qui utilitatis causa adsumptus est, tamdiu placebit, quamdiu utilis fuerit.

[a] Frag. 175 Usener.

pleasure, not only in maintaining old and established friendships, but also in beginning and acquiring new ones. There is the same difference between winning a new friend and having already won him, as there is between the farmer who sows and the farmer who reaps. The philosopher Attalus used to say: "It is more pleasant to make than to keep a friend, as it is more pleasant to the artist to paint than to have finished painting." When one is busy and absorbed in one's work, the very absorption affords great delight; but when one has withdrawn one's hand from the completed masterpiece, the pleasure is not so keen. Henceforth it is the fruits of his art that he enjoys; it was the art itself that he enjoyed while he was painting. In the case of our children, their young manhood yields the more abundant fruits, but their infancy was sweeter.

Let us now return to the question. The wise man, I say, self-sufficient though he be, nevertheless desires friends if only for the purpose of practising friendship, in order that his noble qualities may not lie dormant. Not, however, for the purpose mentioned by Epicurus[a] in the letter quoted above: "That there may be someone to sit by him when he is ill, to help him when he is in prison or in want;" but that he may have someone by whose sick-bed he himself may sit, someone a prisoner in hostile hands whom he himself may set free. He who regards himself only, and enters upon friendships for this reason, reckons wrongly. The end will be like the beginning: he has made friends with one who might assist him out of bondage; at the first rattle of the chain such a friend will desert him. These are the so-called "fair-weather" friendships; one who is chosen for the sake of utility will be satisfactory only so long as

Hac re florentes amicorum turba circumsedet; circa
eversos solitudo est, et inde amici fugiunt, ubi pro-
bantur. Hac re ista tot nefaria exempla sunt aliorum
metu relinquentium, aliorum metu prodentium.
Necesse est initia inter se et exitus congruant. Qui
amicus esse coepit, quia expedit, et desinet,[1] quia
expedit. Placebit aliquod pretium contra amicitiam,
si ullum in illa placet praeter ipsam.
10 In quid amicum paro? Ut habeam pro quo mori
possim, ut habeam quem in exilium sequar, cuius me
morti opponam[2] et inpendam. Ista, quam tu describis,
negotiatio est, non amicitia, quae ad commodum ac-
11 cedit, quae quid[3] consecutura sit spectat. Non dubie
habet aliquid simile amicitiae affectus amantium; possis
dicere illam esse insanam amicitiam. Numquid ergo
quisquam amat lucri causa? Numquid ambitionis aut
gloriae? Ipse per se amor omnium aliarum rerum
neglegens animos in cupiditatem formae non sine spe
mutuae caritatis accendit. Quid ergo? Ex honestiore
12 causa coit turpis adfectus? "Non agitur," inquis,
"nunc de hoc, an amicitia propter se ipsam adpetenda
sit." Immo vero nihil magis probandum est. Nam si
propter se ipsam expetenda est, potest ad illam accedere
qui se ipso contentus est. "Quomodo ergo ad illam
accedit?" Quomodo ad rem pulcherrimam, non

[1] *quia expedit, et desinet,* added by Haase.

[2] *et* before *opponam* omitted by many editors, but retained by Hense. *opponam* is used in the double meaning of "set against" and "mortgage," *cf.* Catullus xxvi. 2.

[3] *quae quid* later MSS.; *quae quicquid* MSS.; *quaeque quid* Buecheler.

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[a] "Pure love," *i.e.*, love in its essence, unalloyed with other emotions.

he is useful. Hence prosperous men are blockaded by troops of friends; but those who have failed stand amid vast loneliness, their friends fleeing from the very crisis which is to test their worth. Hence, also, we notice those many shameful cases of persons who, through fear, desert or betray. The beginning and the end cannot but harmonize. He who begins to be your friend because it pays will also cease because it pays. A man will be attracted by some reward offered in exchange for his friendship, if he be attracted by aught in friendship other than friendship itself.

For what purpose, then, do I make a man my friend? In order to have someone for whom I may die, whom I may follow into exile, against whose death I may stake my own life, and pay the pledge, too. The friendship which you portray is a bargain and not a friendship; it regards convenience only, and looks to the results. Beyond question the feeling of a lover has in it something akin to friendship; one might call it friendship run mad. But, though this is true, does anyone love for the sake of gain, or promotion, or renown? Pure[a] love, careless of all other things, kindles the soul with desire for the beautiful object, not without the hope of a return of the affection. What then? Can a cause which is more honourable produce a passion that is base? You may retort: "We are not now discussing the question whether friendship is to be cultivated for its own sake." On the contrary, nothing more urgently requires demonstration; for if friendship is to be sought for its own sake, he may seek it who is self-sufficient. "How, then," you ask, "does he seek it?" Precisely as he seeks an object of great beauty, not attracted to it by desire for gain, nor

lucro captus nec varietate fortunae perterritus. Detrahit amicitiae maiestatem suam, qui illam parat ad bonos casus.

13 Se contentus est sapiens. Hoc, mi Lucili, plerique perperam interpretantur; sapientem undique submovent et intra cutem suam cogunt. Distinguendum autem est, quid et quatenus vox ista promittat; se contentus est sapiens ad beate vivendum, non ad vivendum. Ad hoc enim multis illi rebus opus est, ad illud tantum animo sano et erecto et despiciente fortunam.

14 Volo tibi Chrysippi quoque distinctionem indicare. Ait sapientem nulla re egere, et tamen multis illi rebus opus esse. "Contra stulto nulla re opus est, nulla enim re uti scit, sed omnibus eget." Sapienti et manibus et oculis et multis ad cotidianum usum necessariis opus est, eget nulla re. Egere enim
15 necessitatis est, nihil necesse sapienti est. Ergo quamvis se ipso contentus sit, amicis illi opus est. Hos cupit habere quam plurimos, non ut beate vivat; vivet enim etiam sine amicis beate. Summum bonum extrinsecus instrumenta non quaerit. Domi colitur, ex se totum est. Incipit fortunae esse subiectum,[1] si quam partem sui foris quaerit.

16 "Qualis tamen futura est vita sapientis, si sine amicis relinquatur in custodiam coniectus, vel in aliqua gente aliena destitutus, vel in navigatione longa retentus, aut in desertum litus eiectus?"

[1] *subiectum* Erasmus; *subiectus* MSS.

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[a] *Cf.* his *Frag. moral.* 674 von Arnim.

[b] The distinction is based upon the meaning of *egere*, "to be in want of" something indispensable, and *opus esse*, "to have need of" something which one can do without.

yet frightened by the instability of Fortune. One who seeks friendship for favourable occasions, strips it of all its nobility.

"The wise man is self-sufficient." This phrase, my dear Lucilius, is incorrectly explained by many; for they withdraw the wise man from the world, and force him to dwell within his own skin. But we must mark with care what this sentence signifies and how far it applies; the wise man is sufficient unto himself for a happy existence, but not for mere existence. For he needs many helps towards mere existence; but for a happy existence he needs only a sound and upright soul, one that despises Fortune.

I should like also to state to you one of the distinctions of Chrysippus,[a] who declares that the wise man is in want of nothing, and yet needs many things.[b] "On the other hand," he says, "nothing is needed by the fool, for he does not understand how to use anything, but he is in want of everything." The wise man needs hands, eyes, and many things that are necessary for his daily use; but he is in want of nothing. For want implies a necessity, and nothing is necessary to the wise man. Therefore, although he is self-sufficient, yet he has need of friends. He craves as many friends as possible, not, however, that he may live happily; for he will live happily even without friends. The Supreme Good calls for no practical aids from outside; it is developed at home, and arises entirely within itself. If the good seeks any portion of itself from without, it begins to be subject to the play of Fortune.

People may say: "But what sort of existence will the wise man have, if he be left friendless when thrown into prison, or when stranded in some foreign nation, or when delayed on a long voyage, or when

Qualis est Iovis, cum resoluto mundo et dis in unum confusis paulisper cessante natura adquiescit sibi cogitationibus suis traditus. Tale quiddam sapiens
17 facit; in se reconditur, secum est. Quamdiu quidem illi licet suo arbitrio res suas ordinare, se contentus est et ducit uxorem; se contentus est[1] et liberos tollit; se contentus est et tamen non viveret, si foret sine homine victurus. Ad amicitiam fert illum nulla utilitas sua, sed naturalis inritatio. Nam ut aliarum nobis rerum innata dulcedo est, sic amicitiae. Quomodo solitudinis[2] odium est et adpetitio societatis, quomodo hominem homini natura conciliat, sic inest huic quoque rei stimulus, qui nos amicitiarum ad-
18 petentes faciat. Nihilominus cum sit amicorum amantissimus, cum illos sibi comparet, saepe praeferat, omne intra se bonum terminabit et dicet, quod Stilbon ille dixit, Stilbon quem Epicuri epistula insequitur; hic enim capta patria, amissis liberis, amissa uxore cum ex incendio publico solus et tamen beatus exiret, interroganti Demetrio, cui cognomen ab exitio urbium Poliorcetes fuit, numquid perdidisset, "Omnia," inquit, "bona mea mecum sunt."
19 Ecce vir fortis ac strenuus! Ipsam hostis sui victoriam vicit. "Nihil," inquit, "perdidi"; dubitare illum coegit, an vicisset. "Omnia mea mecum

[1] *est* added by editors.
[2] *solitudinis* Haupt; *solitudo in* MSS.

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[a] This refers to the Stoic conflagration; after certain cycles their world was destroyed by fire. *Cf.* E. V. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, pp. 192 f.; *cf.* also Chrysippus, *Frag. phys.* 1065 von Arnim.

[b] *Gnomologici Vaticani* 515[a] Sternberg.

cast upon a lonely shore?" His life will be like that of Jupiter, who, amid the dissolution of the world, when the gods are confounded together and Nature rests for a space from her work, can retire into himself and give himself over to his own thoughts.[a] In some such way as this the sage will act; he will retreat into himself, and live with himself. As long as he is allowed to order his affairs according to his judgment, he is self-sufficient—and marries a wife; he is self-sufficient—and brings up children; he is self-sufficient—and yet could not live if he had to live without the society of man. Natural promptings, and not his own selfish needs, draw him into friendships. For just as other things have for us an inherent attractiveness, so has friendship. As we hate solitude and crave society, as nature draws men to each other, so in this matter also there is an attraction which makes us desirous of friendship. Nevertheless, though the sage may love his friends dearly, often comparing them with himself, and putting them ahead of himself, yet all the good will be limited to his own being, and he will speak the words which were spoken by the very Stilbo[b] whom Epicurus criticizes in his letter. For Stilbo, after his country was captured and his children and his wife lost, as he emerged from the general desolation alone and yet happy, spoke as follows to Demetrius, called Sacker of Cities because of the destruction he brought upon them, in answer to the question whether he had lost anything: "I have all my goods with me!" There is a brave and stout-hearted man for you! The enemy conquered, but Stilbo conquered his conqueror. "I have lost nothing!" Aye, he forced Demetrius to wonder whether he himself had conquered after all. "My goods are

sunt[1];" hoc ipsum est nihil bonum putare, quod eripi possit.

Miramur animalia quaedam, quae per medios ignes sine noxa corporum transeant; quanto hic mirabilior vir, qui per ferrum et ruinas et ignes inlaesus et indemnis evasit! Vides, quanto facilius sit totam gentem quam unum virum vincere? Haec vox illi communis est cum Stoico. Aeque et hic intacta bona per concrematas urbes fert. Se enim ipso contentus est. Hoc felicitatem suam fine designat.

20 Ne existimes nos solos generosa verba iactare; et ipse Stilbonis obiurgator Epicurus similem illi vocem emisit, quam tu boni consule, etiam si hunc diem iam expunxi. "Si cui," inquit, "sua non videntur amplissima, licet totius mundi dominus sit, tamen miser est." Vel si hoc modo tibi melius enuntiari videtur,—id enim agendum est, ut non verbis serviamus, sed sensibus,—: "Miser est, qui se non beatissimum iudi-
21 cat, licet imperet mundo." Ut scias autem hos sensus esse communes, natura scilicet dictante, apud poetam comicum invenies:

Non est beatus, esse se qui non putat.

Quid enim refert, qualis status tuus sit, si tibi vide-
22 tur malus? "Quid ergo?" inquis. "Si beatum se dixerit ille turpiter dives et ille multorum dominus sed plurium servus, beatus sua sententia fiet?" Non

[1] *id est iustitia, virtus, prudentia*, after *sunt*, most MSS.; deleted by Buecheler.

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[a] Frag. 474 Usener. [b] *Cf.* above, § 6.

[c] *i.e.*, not confined to the Stoics, etc.

[d] Author unknown; perhaps, as Buecheler thinks, adapted from the Greek.

all with me!" In other words, he deemed nothing that might be taken from him to be a good.

We marvel at certain animals because they can pass through fire and suffer no bodily harm; but how much more marvellous is a man who has marched forth unhurt and unscathed through fire and sword and devastation! Do you understand now how much easier it is to conquer a whole tribe than to conquer one *man*? This saying of Stilbo makes common ground with Stoicism; the Stoic also can carry his goods unimpaired through cities that have been burned to ashes; for he is self-sufficient. Such are the bounds which he sets to his own happiness.

But you must not think that our school alone can utter noble words; Epicurus himself, the reviler of Stilbo, spoke similar language[a]; put it down to my credit, though I have already wiped out my debt for the present day.[b] He says: "Whoever does not regard what he has as most ample wealth, is unhappy, though he be master of the whole world." Or, if the following seems to you a more suitable phrase,—for we must try to render the meaning and not the mere words: "A man may rule the world and still be unhappy, if he does not feel that he is supremely happy." In order, however, that you may know that these sentiments are universal,[c] suggested, of course, by Nature, you will find in one of the comic poets this verse:

> Unblest is he who thinks himself unblest.[d]

For what does your condition matter, if it is bad in your own eyes? You may say: "What then? If yonder man, rich by base means, and yonder man, lord of many but slave of more, shall call themselves happy, will their own opinion make them happy?"

quid dicat, sed quid sentiat, refert, nec quid uno die sentiat, sed quid adsidue. Non est autem quod verearis, ne ad indignum res tanta perveniat; nisi sapienti sua non placent. Omnis stultitia laborat fastidio sui. VALE.

X.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Sic est, non muto sententiam: fuge multitudinem, fuge paucitatem, fuge etiam unum. Non habeo, cum quo te communicatum velim. Et vide, quod iudicium meum habeas: audeo te tibi credere. Crates, ut aiunt, huius ipsius Stilbonis auditor, cuius mentionem priore epistula feci, cum vidisset adulescentulum secreto ambulantem, interrogavit, quid illic solus faceret? "Mecum," inquit, "loquor." Cui Crates "Cave," inquit, "rogo, et diligenter adtende; cum homine malo loqueris."

2 Lugentem timentemque custodire solemus, ne solitudine male utatur. Nemo est ex inprudentibus, qui relinqui sibi debeat; tunc mala consilia agitant, tunc aut aliis aut ipsis futura pericula struunt; tunc cupiditates improbas ordinant; tunc quicquid aut metu aut pudore celabat, animus exponit, tunc audaciam acuit, libidinem inritat, iracundiam instigat. Denique quod unum solitudo habet commodum, nihil ulli committere, non timere indicem, perit stulto; ipse se prodit.

Vide itaque, quid de te sperem, immo quid spon-

It matters not what one says, but what one feels; also, not how one feels on one particular day, but how one feels at all times. There is no reason, however, why you should fear that this great privilege will fall into unworthy hands; only the wise man is pleased with his own. Folly is ever troubled with weariness of itself. Farewell.

X. ON LIVING TO ONESELF

Yes, I do not change my opinion: avoid the many, avoid the few, avoid even the individual. I know of no one with whom I should be willing to have you shared. And see what an opinion of you I have; for I dare to trust you with your own self. Crates, they say, the disciple of the very Stilbo whom I mentioned in a former letter, noticed a young man walking by himself, and asked him what he was doing all alone. "I am communing with myself," replied the youth. "Pray be careful, then," said Crates, "and take good heed; you are communing with a bad man!"

When persons are in mourning, or fearful about something, we are accustomed to watch them that we may prevent them from making a wrong use of their loneliness. No thoughtless person ought to be left alone; in such cases he only plans folly, and heaps up future dangers for himself or for others; he brings into play his base desires; the mind displays what fear or shame used to repress; it whets his boldness, stirs his passions, and goads his anger. And finally, the only benefit that solitude confers,—the habit of trusting no man, and of fearing no witnesses,—is lost to the fool; for he betrays himself.

Mark therefore what my hopes are for you,—nay,

deam mihi, spes enim incerti boni nomen est: non
3 invenio, cum quo te malim esse quam tecum. Repeto memoria, quam magno animo quaedam verba proieceris, quanti roboris plena. Gratulatus sum protinus mihi et dixi: "Non a summis labris ista venerunt, habent hae voces fundamentum. Iste homo non est
4 unus e populo, ad salutem spectat." Sic loquere, sic vive; vide ne te ulla res deprimat. Votorum tuorum veterum licet dis gratiam facias, alia de integro suscipe; roga bonam mentem, bonam valitudinem animi, deinde tunc corporis. Quidni tu ista vota saepe facias? Audacter deum roga; nihil illum de alieno rogaturus es.

5 Sed ut more meo cum aliquo munusculo epistulam mittam, verum est, quod apud Athenodorum inveni: "Tunc scito esse te omnibus cupiditatibus solutum, cum eo perveneris, ut nihil deum roges, nisi quod rogare possis palam." Nunc enim quanta dementia est hominum! Turpissima vota dis insusurrant; si quis admoverit aurem, conticescent. Et quod scire hominem nolunt, deo narrant. Vide ergo, ne hoc praecipi salubriter possit: sic vive cum hominibus, tamquam deus videat; sic loquere cum deo, tamquam homines audiant. VALE.

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[a] Frag. *de superstitione* 36 H., according to Rossbach.

rather, what I am promising myself, inasmuch as hope is merely the title of an uncertain blessing: I do not know any person with whom I should prefer you to associate rather than yourself. I remember in what a great-souled way you hurled forth certain phrases, and how full of strength they were! I immediately congratulated myself and said: "These words did not come from the edge of the lips; these utterances have a solid foundation. This man is not one of the many; he has regard for his real welfare." Speak, and live, in this way; see to it that nothing keeps you down. As for your former prayers, you may dispense the gods from answering them; offer new prayers; pray for a sound mind and for good health, first of soul and then of body. And of course you should offer those prayers frequently. Call boldly upon God; you will not be asking him for that which belongs to another.

But I must, as is my custom, send a little gift along with this letter. It is a true saying which I have found in Athenodorus[a]: "Know that thou art freed from all desires when thou hast reached such a point that thou prayest to God for nothing except what thou canst pray for openly." But how foolish men are now! They whisper the basest of prayers to heaven; but if anyone listens, they are silent at once. That which they are unwilling for men to know, they communicate to God. Do you not think, then, that some such wholesome advice as this could be given you: "Live among men as if God beheld you; speak with God as if men were listening"? Farewell.

XI.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Locutus est mecum amicus tuus bonae indolis, in quo quantum esset animi, quantum ingenii, quantum iam etiam profectus, sermo primus ostendit. Dedit nobis gustum, ad quem respondebit. Non enim ex praeparato locutus est, sed subito deprehensus. Ubi se colligebat, verecundiam, bonum in adulescente signum, vix potuit excutere; adeo illi ex alto suffusus est rubor. Hic illum, quantum suspicor, etiam cum se confirmaverit et omnibus vitiis exuerit, sapientem quoque sequetur. Nulla enim sapientia naturalia corporis[1] vitia ponuntur. Quicquid infixum et in-
2 genitum est, lenitur arte, non vincitur. Quibusdam etiam constantissimis in conspectu populi sudor erumpit, non aliter quam fatigatis et aestuantibus solet, quibusdam tremunt genua dicturis, quorundam dentes colliduntur, lingua titubat, labra concurrunt. Haec nec disciplina nec usus umquam excutit, sed natura vim suam exercet et illo[2] vitio sui etiam ro-
3 bustissimos admonet. Inter haec esse et ruborem scio, qui gravissimis quoque viris subitus adfunditur. Magis quidem in iuvenibus apparet, quibus et plus caloris est et tenera frons; nihilominus et veteranos et senes tangit. Quidam numquam magis, quam cum erubuerint, timendi sunt, quasi omnem vere-
4 cundiam effuderint. Sulla tunc erat violentissimus,

[1] *aut animi* after *corporis* deleted by Madvig.
[2] *illo* Schweighäuser; *illos* MSS.

XI. ON THE BLUSH OF MODESTY

Your friend and I have had a conversation. He is a man of ability; his very first words showed what spirit and understanding he possesses, and what progress he has already made. He gave me a foretaste, and he will not fail to answer thereto. For he spoke not from forethought, but was suddenly caught off his guard. When he tried to collect himself, he could scarcely banish that hue of modesty, which is a good sign in a young man; the blush that spread over his face seemed so to rise from the depths. And I feel sure that his habit of blushing will stay with him after he has strengthened his character, stripped off all his faults, and become wise. For by no wisdom can natural weaknesses of the body be removed. That which is implanted and inborn can be toned down by training, but not overcome. The steadiest speaker, when before the public, often breaks into a perspiration, as if he had wearied or over-heated himself; some tremble in the knees when they rise to speak; I know of some whose teeth chatter, whose tongues falter, whose lips quiver. Training and experience can never shake off this habit; nature exerts her own power and through such a weakness makes her presence known even to the strongest. I know that the blush, too, is a habit of this sort, spreading suddenly over the faces of the most dignified men, It is, indeed more prevalent in youth, because of the warmer blood and the sensitive countenance; nevertheless, both seasoned men and aged men are affected by it. Some are most dangerous when they redden, as if they were letting all their sense of shame escape. Sulla, when

cum faciem eius sanguis invaserat. Nihil erat mollius ore Pompei; numquam non coram pluribus rubuit, utique in contionibus. Fabianum, cum in senatum testis esset inductus, erubuisse memini, et hic illum
5 mire pudor decuit. Non accidit hoc ab infirmitate mentis, sed a novitate rei, quae inexercitatos, etiamsi non concutit, movet naturali in hoc facilitate corporis pronos. Nam ut quidam boni sanguinis sunt, ita quidam incitati et mobilis et cito in os prodeuntis.

6 Haec, ut dixi, nulla sapientia abigit; alioquin haberet rerum naturam sub imperio, si omnia eraderet vitia. Quaecumque adtribuit condicio nascendi et corporis temperatura, cum multum se diuque animus conposuerit, haerebunt. Nihil horum vetari potest,
7 non magis quam accersi. Artifices scaenici, qui imitantur adfectus, qui metum et trepidationem exprimunt, qui tristitiam repraesentant, hoc indicio imitantur verecundiam: deiciunt enim vultum, verba submittunt, figunt in terram oculos et deprimunt. Ruborem sibi exprimere non possunt; nec prohibetur hic nec adducitur. Nihil adversus haec sapientia promittit, nihil proficit; sui iuris sunt, iniussa veniunt, iniussa discedunt.

8 Iam clausulam epistula poscit. Accipe, et quidem[1] utilem ac salutarem, quam te affigere animo volo: "Aliquis vir bonus nobis diligendus est ac semper ante oculos habendus, ut sic tamquam illo spectante

[1] *et quidem* Erasmus; *equidem* MSS.

[a] Epicurus, Frag. 210 Usener.

the blood mantled his cheeks, was in his fiercest mood. Pompey had the most sensitive cast of countenance; he always blushed in the presence of a gathering, and especially at a public assembly. Fabianus also, I remember, reddened when he appeared as a witness before the senate; and his embarrassment became him to a remarkable degree. Such a habit is not due to mental weakness, but to the novelty of a situation; an inexperienced person is not necessarily confused, but is usually affected, because he slips into this habit by natural tendency of the body. Just as certain men are full-blooded, so others are of a quick and mobile blood, that rushes to the face at once.

As I remarked, Wisdom can never remove this habit; for if she could rub out all our faults, she would be mistress of the universe. Whatever is assigned to us by the terms of our birth and the blend in our constitutions, will stick with us, no matter how hard or how long the soul may have tried to master itself. And we cannot forbid these feelings any more than we can summon them. Actors in the theatre, who imitate the emotions, who portray fear and nervousness, who depict sorrow, imitate bashfulness by hanging their heads, lowering their voices, and keeping their eyes fixed and rooted upon the ground. They cannot, however, muster a blush; for the blush cannot be prevented or acquired. Wisdom will not assure us of a remedy, or give us help against it; it comes or goes unbidden, and is a law unto itself.

But my letter calls for its closing sentence. Hear and take to heart this useful and wholesome motto[a]: "Cherish some man of high character, and keep him ever before your eyes, living as if he were watching

vivamus et omnia tamquam illo vidente faciamus."

9 Hoc, mi Lucili, Epicurus praecepit. Custodem nobis et paedagogum dedit, nec inmerito. Magna pars peccatorum tollitur, si peccaturis testis adsistit. Aliquem habeat animus, quem vereatur, cuius auctoritate etiam secretum suum sanctius faciat. O felicem illum, qui non praesens tantum, sed etiam cogitatus emendat! O felicem, qui sic aliquem vereri potest, ut ad memoriam quoque eius se conponat atque ordinet! Qui sic aliquem vereri potest, cito erit

10 verendus. Elige itaque Catonem. Si hic tibi videtur nimis rigidus, elige remissioris animi virum Laelium. Elige eum, cuius tibi placuit et vita et oratio et ipse animum ante se ferens vultus; illum tibi semper ostende vel custodem vel exemplum. Opus est, inquam, aliquo, ad quem mores nostri se ipsi exigant; nisi ad regulam prava non corriges. VALE.

XII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Quocumque me verti, argumenta senectutis meae video. Veneram in suburbanum meum et querebar de inpensis aedificii dilabentis. Ait vilicus mihi non esse neglegentiae suae vitium, omnia se facere, sed villam veterem esse. Haec villa inter manus meas crevit; quid mihi futurum est, si tam putria sunt

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[a] Frag. 210 Usener.

[b] The figure is taken from the ἄδυτον, the Holy of Holies in a temple. *Cf.* Vergil, *Aeneid*, vi. 10 *secreta Sibyllae.*

you, and ordering all your actions as if he beheld them." Such, my dear Lucilius, is the counsel of Epicurus[a]; he has quite properly given us a guardian and an attendant. We can get rid of most sins, if we have a witness who stands near us when we are likely to go wrong. The soul should have someone whom it can respect,—one by whose authority it may make even its inner shrine more hallowed.[b] Happy is the man who can make others better, not merely when he is in their company, but even when he is in their thoughts! And happy also is he who can so revere a man as to calm and regulate himself by calling him to mind! One who can so revere another, will soon be himself worthy of reverence. Choose therefore a Cato; or, if Cato seems too severe a model, choose some Laelius, a gentler spirit. Choose a master whose life, conversation, and soul-expressing face have satisfied you; picture him always to yourself as your protector or your pattern. For we must indeed have someone according to whom we may regulate our characters; you can never straighten that which is crooked unless you use a ruler. Farewell.

XII. ON OLD AGE

Wherever I turn, I see evidences of my advancing years. I visited lately my country-place, and protested against the money which was spent on the tumble-down building. My bailiff maintained that the flaws were not due to his own carelessness; "he was doing everything possible, but the house was old." And this was the house which grew under my own hands! What has the future in store for

2 aetatis meae saxa? Iratus illi proximam occasionem stomachandi arripio. "Apparet," inquam, "has platanos neglegi; nullas habent frondes. Quam nodosi sunt et retorridi rami, quam tristes et squalidi trunci! Hoc non accideret, si quis has circumfoderet, si inrigaret." Iurat per genium meum se omnia facere, in nulla re cessare curam suam, sed illas vetulas esse. Quod intra nos sit, ego illas
3 posueram, ego illarum primum videram folium. Conversus ad ianuam "Quis est iste?" inquam, "iste decrepitus et merito ad ostium admotus? Foras enim spectat. Unde istunc nactus es? Quid te delectavit alienum mortuum tollere?" At ille "Non cognoscis me?" inquit. "Ego sum Felicio, cui solebas sigillaria adferre. Ego sum Philositi vilici filius, deliciolum tuum." "Perfecte," inquam, "iste delirat. Pupulus etiam delicium meum factus est? Prorsus potest fieri; dentes illi cum maxime cadunt."
4 Debeo hoc suburbano meo, quod mihi senectus mea, quocumque adverteram, apparuit. Conplectamur illam et amemus; plena est voluptatis, si illa scias uti. Gratissima sunt poma, cum fugiunt; pueritiae maximus in exitu decor est; deditos vino potio extrema delectat, illa quae mergit, quae ebrietati
5 summam manum inponit. Quod in se iucundissimum omnis voluptas habet, in finem sui differt. Iucundissima est aetas devexa iam, non tamen praeceps. Et

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[a] A jesting allusion to the Roman funeral; the corpse's feet pointed to the door.

[b] His former owner should have kept him and buried him.

[c] Small figures, generally of terra-cotta, were frequently given to children as presents at the Saturnalia. *Cf.* Macrobius, i. 11. 49 *sigilla . . . pro se atque suis piaculum.*

[d] *i.e.*, the old slave resembles a child in that he is losing his teeth (but for the second time).

me, if stones of my own age are already crumbling? I was angry, and I embraced the first opportunity to vent my spleen in the bailiff's presence. "It is clear," I cried, "that these plane-trees are neglected; they have no leaves. Their branches are so gnarled and shrivelled; the boles are so rough and unkempt! This would not happen, if someone loosened the earth at their feet, and watered them." The bailiff swore by my protecting deity that "he was doing everything possible, and never relaxed his efforts, but those trees were old." Between you and me, I had planted those trees myself, I had seen them in their first leaf. Then I turned to the door and asked: "Who is that broken-down dotard? You have done well to place him at the entrance; for he is outward bound.[a] Where did you get him? What pleasure did it give you to take up for burial some other man's dead?[b]" But the slave said: "Don't you know me, sir? I am Felicio; you used to bring me little images.[c] My father was Philositus the steward, and I am your pet slave." "The man is clean crazy," I remarked. "Has my pet slave become a little boy again? But it is quite possible; his teeth are just dropping out."[d]

I owe it to my country-place that my old age became apparent whithersoever I turned. Let us cherish and love old age; for it is full of pleasure if one knows how to use it. Fruits are most welcome when almost over; youth is most charming at its close; the last drink delights the toper,—the glass which souses him and puts the finishing touch on his drunkenness. Each pleasure reserves to the end the greatest delights which it contains. Life is most delightful when it is on the downward slope, but has not yet reached the abrupt decline. And I myself believe that the period which stands, so to

illam quoque in extrema tegula[1] stantem iudico habere suas voluptates. Aut hoc ipsum succedit in locum voluptatium, nullis egere. Quam dulce est
6 cupiditates fatigasse ac reliquisse! "Molestum est," inquis, "mortem ante oculos habere." Primum ista tam seni ante oculos debet esse quam iuveni. Non enim citamur ex censu. Deinde nemo tam senex est, ut inprobe unum diem speret. Unus autem dies gradus vitae est.

Tota aetas partibus constat et orbes habet circumductos maiores minoribus. Est aliquis, qui omnis conplectatur et cingat; hic pertinet a natali ad diem extremum. Est alter, qui annos adulescentiae cludit.[2] Est qui totam pueritiam ambitu suo adstringit. Est deinde per se annus in se omnia continens tempora, quorum multiplicatione vita conponitur. Mensis artiore praecingitur circulo. Angustissimum habet dies gyrum, sed et hic ab initio ad
7 exitum venit, ab ortu ad occasum. Ideo Heraclitus, cui cognomen fecit orationis obscuritas, "Unus," inquit, "dies par omni est." Hoc alius aliter excepit.[3] Dixit enim parem esse horis, nec mentitur; nam si dies est tempus viginti et quattuor horarum, necesse est omnes inter se dies pares esse, quia nox habet, quod dies perdidit. Alius ait parem esse unum diem omnibus similitudine; nihil enim habet longissimi temporis spatium, quod non et in uno die invenias, lucem et

[1] *tegula* MSS., retained by Hense; *regula*, "horizon-line," Summers; *specula*, "summit," Madvig.
[2] *cludit* C. Brakman; *excludit* MSS.
[3] *excepit* MSS.; *cepit* Hense.

[a] *i.e.*, *seniores* as contrasted with *iuniores*.
[b] ὁ σκοτεινός, "The Obscure," Frag. 106 Diels[2].

speak, on the edge of the roof, possesses pleasures of its own. Or else the very fact of our not wanting pleasures has taken the place of the pleasures themselves. How comforting it is to have tired out one's appetites, and to have done with them! "But," you say, "it is a nuisance to be looking death in the face!" Death, however, should be looked in the face by young and old alike. We are not summoned according to our rating on the censor's list.[a] Moreover, no one is so old that it would be improper for him to hope for another day of existence. And one day, mind you, is a stage on life's journey.

Our span of life is divided into parts; it consists of large circles enclosing smaller. One circle embraces and bounds the rest; it reaches from birth to the last day of existence. The next circle limits the period of our young manhood. The third confines all of childhood in its circumference. Again, there is, in a class by itself, the year; it contains within itself all the divisions of time by the multiplication of which we get the total of life. The month is bounded by a narrower ring. The smallest circle of all is the day; but even a day has its beginning and its ending, its sunrise and its sunset. Hence Heraclitus, whose obscure style gave him his surname,[b] remarked: "One day is equal to every day." Different persons have interpreted the saying in different ways. Some hold that days are equal in number of hours, and this is true; for if by "day" we mean twenty-four hours' time, all days must be equal, inasmuch as the night acquires what the day loses. But others maintain that one day is equal to all days through resemblance, because the very longest space of time possesses no element which cannot be found in a single day,—namely, light and

noctem, et in aeternum dies vices plures facit istas,
8 non alias contractior,[1] alias productior. Itaque sic ordinandus est dies omnis, tamquam cogat agmen et consummet atque expleat vitam.

Pacuvius, qui Syriam usu suam fecit, cum vino et illis funebribus epulis sibi parentaverat, sic in cubiculum ferebatur a cena, ut inter plausus exoletorum hoc ad symphoniam caneretur: βεβίωται, βεβίωται.
9 Nullo non se die extulit. Hoc, quod ille ex mala conscientia faciebat, nos ex bona faciamus et in somnum ituri laeti hilaresque dicamus:

> Vixi et quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi.

Crastinum si adiecerit deus, laeti recipiamus. Ille beatissimus est et securus sui possessor, qui crastinum sine sollicitudine expectat. Quisquis dixit "vixi," cotidie ad lucrum surgit.

10 Sed iam debeo epistulam includere. "Sic," inquis, "sine ullo ad me peculio veniet?" Noli timere; aliquid secum fert. Quare aliquid dixi? Multum. Quid enim hac voce praeclarius, quam illi trado ad te perferendam? "Malum est in necessitate vivere; sed in necessitate vivere necessitas nulla est." Quidni nulla sit? Patent undique ad libertatem

[1] *et in aeternum dies vices plures facit istas non alias contractior* Capps; *et in alternas mundi vices plura facit ista non alias contractior* MSS.; *non alia . . . alius contractior* etc. Hense.

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[a] *i.e.*, of light and darkness.

[b] *Usus* was the mere enjoyment of a piece of property; *dominium* was the exclusive right to its control. Possession for one, or two, years conferred ownership. See Leage, *Roman Private Law*, pp. 133, 152, and 164. Although Pacuvius was governor so long that the province seemed to belong to him, yet he knew he might die any day.

[c] Vergil, *Aeneid*, iv. 653.

[d] Epicurus, *Sprüche*, 9 Wotke.

darkness,—and even to eternity day makes these alternations[a] more numerous, not different when it is shorter and different again when it is longer. Hence, every day ought to be regulated as if it closed the series, as if it rounded out and completed our existence.

Pacuvius, who by long occupancy made Syria his own,[b] used to hold a regular burial sacrifice in his own honour, with wine and the usual funeral feasting, and then would have himself carried from the dining-room to his chamber, while eunuchs applauded and sang in Greek to a musical accompaniment: "He has lived his life, he has lived his life!" Thus Pacuvius had himself carried out to burial every day. Let us, however, do from a good motive what he used to do from a debased motive; let us go to our sleep with joy and gladness; let us say:

> I have lived; the course which Fortune set for me
> Is finished.[c]

And if God is pleased to add another day, we should welcome it with glad hearts. That man is happiest, and is secure in his own possession of himself, who can await the morrow without apprehension. When a man has said: "I have lived!", every morning he arises he receives a bonus.

But now I ought to close my letter. "What?" you say; "shall it come to me without any little offering?" Be not afraid; it brings something,—nay, more than something, a great deal. For what is more noble than the following saying,[d] of which I make this letter the bearer: "It is wrong to live under constraint; but no man is constrained to live under constraint." Of course not. On all sides lie

viae multae breves, faciles. Agamus deo gratias, quod nemo in vita teneri potest. Calcare ipsas
11 necessitates licet. "Epicurus," inquis, "dixit. Quid tibi cum alieno?" Quod verum est, meum est. Perseverabo Epicurum tibi ingerere, ut isti, qui in verba iurant, nec quid dicatur aestimant, sed a quo, sciant, quae optima sunt, esse communia. VALE.

XIII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Multum tibi esse animi scio. Nam etiam antequam instrueres te praeceptis salutaribus et dura vincentibus, satis adversus fortunam placebas tibi, et multo magis, postquam cum illa manum conseruisti viresque expertus es tuas, quae numquam certam dare fiduciam sui possunt, nisi cum multae difficultates hinc et illinc apparuerunt, aliquando vero et propius accesserunt; sic verus ille animus et in alienum non venturus arbitrium probatur.
2 Haec eius obrussa est: non potest athleta magnos spiritus ad certamen adferre, qui numquam suggillatus est; ille, qui sanguinem suum vidit, cuius dentes crepuere sub pugno, ille, qui subplantatus

many short and simple paths to freedom; and let us thank God that no man can be kept in life. We may spurn the very constraints that hold us. "Epicurus," you reply, "uttered these words; what are you doing with another's property?" Any truth, I maintain, is my own property. And I shall continue to heap quotations from Epicurus upon you, so that all persons who swear by the words of another, and put a value upon the speaker and not upon the thing spoken, may understand that the best ideas are common property. Farewell.

XIII. ON GROUNDLESS FEARS

I know that you have plenty of spirit; for even before you began to equip yourself with maxims which were wholesome and potent to overcome obstacles, you were taking pride in your contest with Fortune; and this is all the more true, now that you have grappled with Fortune and tested your powers. For our powers can never inspire in us implicit faith in ourselves except when many difficulties have confronted us on this side and on that, and have occasionally even come to close quarters with us. It is only in this way that the true spirit can be tested,—the spirit that will never consent to come under the jurisdiction of things external to ourselves. This is the touchstone of such a spirit; no prize-fighter can go with high spirits into the strife if he has never been beaten black and blue; the only contestant who can confidently enter the lists is the man who has seen his own blood, who has felt his teeth rattle beneath his opponent's fist, who has

adversarium toto tulit corpore nec proiecit animum proiectus, qui quotiens cecidit, contumacior resurrexit,
3 cum magna spe descendit ad pugnam. Ergo, ut similitudinem istam prosequar, saepe iam fortuna supra te fuit, nec tamen tradidisti te, sed subsiluisti et acrior constitisti. Multum enim adicit sibi virtus lacessita; tamen si tibi videtur, accipe a me auxilia, quibus munire te possis.

4 Plura sunt, Lucili, quae nos terrent, quam quae premunt, et saepius opinione quam re laboramus. Non loquor tecum Stoica lingua, sed hac submissiore. Nos enim dicimus omnia ista, quae gemitus mugitusque exprimunt, levia esse et contemnenda; omittamus haec magna verba, sed, di boni, vera. Illud tibi praecipio, ne sis miser ante tempus, cum illa, quae velut imminentia expavisti, fortasse numquam
5 ventura sint, certe non venerint. Quaedam ergo nos magis torquent quam debent; quaedam ante torquent quam debent; quaedam torquent, cum omnino non debeant. Aut augemus dolorem aut fingimus aut praecipimus.

Primum illud, quia res in controversia est et litem contestatam habemus, in praesentia differatur. Quod ego leve dixero, tu gravissimum esse contendes; scio alios inter flagella ridere, alios gemere sub colapho.

[a] Seneca dismisses the topic of "exaggerated ills," because judgments will differ regarding present troubles; the Stoics, for example, would not admit that torture was an evil at all. He then passes on to the topic of "imaginary ills," §§ 6–7, and afterwards to "anticipated ills," §§ 8–11. From § 12 on, he deals with both imaginary and anticipated ills.

been tripped and felt the full force of his adversary's charge, who has been downed in body but not in spirit, one who, as often as he falls, rises again with greater defiance than ever. So then, to keep up my figure, Fortune has often in the past got the upper hand of you, and yet you have not surrendered, but have leaped up and stood your ground still more eagerly. For manliness gains much strength by being challenged; nevertheless, if you approve, allow me to offer some additional safeguards by which you may fortify yourself.

There are more things, Lucilius, likely to frighten us than there are to crush us; we suffer more often in imagination than in reality. I am not speaking with you in the Stoic strain but in my milder style. For it is our Stoic fashion to speak of all those things, which provoke cries and groans, as unimportant and beneath notice; but you and I must drop such great-sounding words, although, Heaven knows, they are true enough. What I advise you to do is, not to be unhappy before the crisis comes; since it may be that the dangers before which you paled as if they were threatening you, will never come upon you; they certainly have not yet come. Accordingly, some things torment us more than they ought; some torment us before they ought; and some torment us when they ought not to torment us at all. We are in the habit of exaggerating, or imagining, or anticipating, sorrow.

The first of these three faults[a] may be postponed for the present, because the subject is under discussion and the case is still in court, so to speak. That which I should call trifling, you will maintain to be most serious; for of course I know that some men laugh while being flogged, and that others wince at

Postea videbimus, utrum ista suis viribus valeant an inbecillitate nostra.

6 Illud praesta mihi, ut, quotiens circumsteterint, qui tibi te miserum esse persuadeant, non quid audias, sed quid sentias, cogites et cum patientia tua deliberes ac te ipse interroges, qui tua optime nosti: Quid est, quare isti me conplorent? Quid est, quod trepident, quod contagium quoque mei timeant, quasi transilire calamitas possit? Est aliquid istic mali, an res ista magis infamis est quam mala? Ipse te interroga: Numquid sine causa crucior et maereo et
7 quod non est malum, facio? "Quomodo," inquis, "intellegam, vana sint an vera, quibus angor?" Accipe huius rei regulam: aut praesentibus torquemur aut futuris aut utrisque. De praesentibus facile iudicium est; si corpus tuum liberum et[1] sanum est, nec ullus ex iniuria dolor est. Videbimus quid
8 futurum sit. Hodie nihil negotii habet. "At enim futurum est." Primum dispice, an certa argumenta sint venturi mali. Plerumque enim suspicionibus laboramus, et inludit nobis illa, quae conficere bellum solet, fama, multo autem magis singulos conficit. Ita est, mi Lucili; cito accedimus opinioni. Non

[1] *est* Madvig; *et* MSS.

a box on the ear. We shall consider later whether these evils derive their power from their own strength, or from our own weakness.

Do me the favour, when men surround you and try to talk you into believing that you are unhappy, to consider not what you hear but what you yourself feel, and to take counsel with your feelings and question yourself independently, because you know your own affairs better than anyone else does. Ask: "Is there any reason why these persons should condole with me? Why should they be worried or even fear some infection from me, as if troubles could be transmitted? Is there any evil involved, or is it a matter merely of ill report, rather than an evil?" Put the question voluntarily to yourself: "Am I tormented without sufficient reason, am I morose, and do I convert what is not an evil into what is an evil?" You may retort with the question: "How am I to know whether my sufferings are real or imaginary?" Here is the rule for such matters: We are tormented either by things present, or by things to come, or by both. As to things present, the decision is easy. Suppose that your person enjoys freedom and health, and that you do not suffer from any external injury. As to what may happen to it in the future, we shall see later on. To-day there is nothing wrong with it. "But," you say, "something will happen to it." First of all, consider whether your proofs of future trouble are sure. For it is more often the case that we are troubled by our apprehensions, and that we are mocked by that mocker, rumour, which is wont to settle wars, but much more often settles individuals. Yes, my dear Lucilius; we agree too quickly with what people say. We do not put to the test those

coarguimus illa, quae nos in metum adducunt, nec excutimus, sed trepidamus et sic vertimus terga, quemadmodum illi, quos pulvis motus fuga pecorum exuit castris, aut quos aliqua fabula sine auctore
9 sparsa conterruit. Nescio quomodo magis vana perturbant. Vera enim modum suum habent; quicquid ex incerto venit, coniecturae et paventis animi licentiae traditur. Nulli itaque tam perniciosi, tam inrevocabiles quam lymphatici metus sunt. Ceteri enim sine ratione, hi sine mente sunt.

10 Inquiramus itaque in rem diligenter. Verisimile est aliquid futurum mali; non statim verum est. Quam multa non expectata venerunt! Quam multa expectata nusquam conparuerunt! Etiam si futurum est, quid iuvat dolori suo occurrere? Satis cito dolebis, cum venerit; interim tibi meliora promitte.
11 Quid facies lucri? Tempus. Multa intervenient, quibus vicinum periculum vel prope admotum aut subsistat aut desinat aut in alienum caput transeat. Incendium ad fugam patuit; quosdam molliter ruina deposuit; aliquando gladius ab ipsa cervice revocatus est; aliquis carnifici suo superstes fuit. Habet etiam mala fortuna levitatem. Fortasse erit, fortasse non erit; interim non est. Meliora propone.

12 Nonnumquam nullis apparentibus signis, quae mali aliquid praenuntient, animus sibi falsas imagines fingit; aut verbum aliquod dubiae significationis

things which cause our fear; we do not examine into them; we blench and retreat just like soldiers who are forced to abandon their camp because of a dust-cloud raised by stampeding cattle, or are thrown into a panic by the spreading of some unauthenticated rumour. And somehow or other it is the idle report that disturbs us most. For truth has its own definite boundaries, but that which arises from uncertainty is delivered over to guesswork and the irresponsible license of a frightened mind. That is why no fear is so ruinous and so uncontrollable as panic fear. For other fears are groundless, but this fear is witless.

Let us, then, look carefully into the matter. It is likely that some troubles will befall us; but it is not a present fact. How often has the unexpected happened! How often has the expected never come to pass! And even though it is ordained to be, what does it avail to run out to meet your suffering? You will suffer soon enough, when it arrives; so look forward meanwhile to better things. What shall you gain by doing this? Time. There will be many happenings meanwhile which will serve to postpone, or end, or pass on to another person, the trials which are near or even in your very presence. A fire has opened the way to flight. Men have been let down softly by a catastrophe. Sometimes the sword has been checked even at the victim's throat. Men have survived their own executioners. Even bad fortune is fickle. Perhaps it will come, perhaps not; in the meantime it is not. So look forward to better things.

The mind at times fashions for itself false shapes of evil when there are no signs that point to any evil; it twists into the worst construction some word

detorquet in peius aut maiorem sibi offensam proponit alicuius quam est, et cogitat non quam iratus ille sit, sed quantum liceat irato. Nulla autem causa vitae est, nullus miseriarum modus, si timeatur quantum potest; hic prudentia prosit, hic robore animi evidentem quoque metum respue. Si minus, vitio vitium repelle; spe metum tempera. Nihil tam certum est ex his, quae timentur, ut non certius sit et formidata subsidere et sperata decipere.

13 Ergo spem ac metum examina, et quotiens incerta erunt omnia, tibi fave; crede quod mavis. Si plures habet[1] sententias metus, nihilominus in hanc partem potius inclina et perturbare te desine, ac subinde hoc in animo volve, maiorem partem mortalium, cum illi nec sit quicquam mali nec pro certo futurum sit, aestuare ac discurrere. Nemo enim resistit sibi, cum coepit inpelli, nec timorem suum redigit ad verum. Nemo dicit: "Vanus auctor est, vanus haec aut finxit aut credidit." Damus nos aurae ferendos.[2]
14 Expavescimus dubia pro certis. Non servamus modum rerum. Statim in timorem vertit[3] scrupulus.

Pudet me et triste[4] tecum loqui, et tam lenibus te remediis focillare. Alius dicat: "Fortasse non

[1] *habet* Madvig; *habes* and *habebis* MSS.
[2] *aurae ferendos* Buecheler; *referendos* MSS.
[3] *vertit* Haase; *venit* MSS.
[4] *et triste* Capps; *ibi sic* MSS.

[a] *Cf.* Solon's *καί με κωτίλλοντα λείως τραχὺν ἐκφανεῖ νόον.*

of doubtful meaning; or it fancies some person's grudge to be more serious than it really is, considering not how angry the enemy is, but to what lengths he may go if he is angry. But life is not worth living, and there is no limit to our sorrows, if we indulge our fears to the greatest possible extent; in this matter, let prudence help you, and contemn fear with a resolute spirit even when it is in plain sight. If you cannot do this, counter one weakness with another, and temper your fear with hope. There is nothing so certain among these objects of fear that it is not more certain still that things we dread sink into nothing and that things we hope for mock us.

Accordingly, weigh carefully your hopes as well as your fears, and whenever all the elements are in doubt, decide in your own favour; believe what you prefer. And if fear wins a majority of the votes, incline in the other direction anyhow, and cease to harass your soul, reflecting continually that most mortals, even when no troubles are actually at hand or are certainly to be expected in the future, become excited and disquieted. No one calls a halt on himself, when he begins to be urged ahead; nor does he regulate his alarm according to the truth. No one says: "The author of the story is a fool, and he who has believed it is a fool, as well as he who fabricated it." We let ourselves drift with every breeze; we are frightened at uncertainties, just as if they were certain. We observe no moderation. The slightest thing turns the scales and throws us forthwith into a panic.

But I am ashamed either to admonish you sternly or to try to beguile you with such mild remedies.[a] Let another say: "Perhaps the worst will not

veniet." Tu dic: "Quid porro, si veniet? Videbimus uter vincat. Fortasse pro me venit, et mors ista vitam honestabit." Cicuta magnum Socratem fecit.[1] Catoni gladium adsertorem libertatis extor-
15 que; magnam partem detraxeris gloriae. Nimium diu te cohortor, cum tibi admonitione magis quam exhortatione opus sit. Non in diversum te a natura tua ducimus; natus es ad ista, quae dicimus. Eo magis bonum tuum auge et exorna.

16 Sed iam finem epistulae faciam, si illi signum suum inpressero, id est aliquam magnificam vocem perferendam ad te mandavero. "Inter cetera mala hoc quoque habet stultitia: semper incipit vivere." Considera quid vox ista significet, Lucili virorum optime, et intelleges, quam foeda sit hominum levitas cotidie nova vitae fundamenta ponentium, novas spes
17 etiam in exitu inchoantium. Circumspice tecum singulos; occurrent tibi senes, qui se cum maxime ad ambitionem, ad peregrinationes, ad negotiandum parent. Quid est autem turpius quam senex vivere incipiens? Non adicerem auctorem huic voci, nisi esset secretior nec inter vulgata Epicuri dicta, quae mihi et laudare et adoptare permisi. VALE.

[1] *confecit* pLP; *fecit* Hense, as if corrupted from *effecit*.

[a] Epicurus, Frag. 494 Usener.

happen." You yourself must say: "Well, what if it does happen? Let us see who wins! Perhaps it happens for my best interests; it may be that such a death will shed credit upon my life." Socrates was ennobled by the hemlock draught. Wrench from Cato's hand his sword, the vindicator of liberty, and you deprive him of the greatest share of his glory. I am exhorting you far too long, since you need reminding rather than exhortation. The path on which I am leading you is not different from that on which your nature leads you; you were born to such conduct as I describe. Hence there is all the more reason why you should increase and beautify the good that is in you.

But now, to close my letter, I have only to stamp the usual seal upon it, in other words, to commit thereto some noble message to be delivered to you: "The fool, with all his other faults, has this also,—he is always getting ready to live." [a] Reflect, my esteemed Lucilius, what this saying means, and you will see how revolting is the fickleness of men who lay down every day new foundations of life, and begin to build up fresh hopes even at the brink of the grave. Look within your own mind for individual instances; you will think of old men who are preparing themselves at that very hour for a political career, or for travel, or for business. And what is baser than getting ready to live when you are already old? I should not name the author of this motto, except that it is somewhat unknown to fame and is not one of those popular sayings of Epicurus which I have allowed myself to praise and to appropriate. Farewell.

XIV.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Fateor insitam esse nobis corporis nostri caritatem; fateor nos huius gerere tutelam. Non nego indulgendum illi; serviendum nego. Multis enim serviet, qui corpori servit, qui pro illo nimium timet, qui ad
2 illud omnia refert. Sic gerere nos debemus, non tamquam propter corpus vivere debeamus, sed tamquam non possimus sine corpore. Huius nos nimius amor timoribus inquietat, sollicitudinibus onerat, contumeliis obicit. Honestum ei vile est, cui corpus nimis carum est. Agatur eius diligentissime cura, ita tamen, ut cum exiget ratio, cum dignitas, cum fides, mittendum in ignes sit.

3 Nihilominus, quantum possumus, evitemus incommoda quoque, non tantum pericula, et in tutum nos reducamus excogitantes subinde, quibus possint timenda depelli. Quorum tria, nisi fallor, genera sunt: timetur inopia, timentur morbi, timentur quae
4 per vim potentioris eveniunt. Ex his omnibus nihil nos magis concutit, quam quod ex aliena potentia inpendet. Magno enim strepitu et tumultu venit. Naturalia mala quae rettuli, inopia atque morbus, silentio subeunt nec oculis nec auribus quicquam terroris incutiunt. Ingens alterius mali pompa est.

XIV. ON THE REASONS FOR WITHDRAWING FROM THE WORLD

I confess that we all have an inborn affection for our body; I confess that we are entrusted with its guardianship. I do not maintain that the body is not to be indulged at all; but I maintain that we must not be slaves to it. He will have many masters who makes his body his master, who is over-fearful in its behalf, who judges everything according to the body. We should conduct ourselves not as if we ought to live for the body, but as if we could not live without it. Our too great love for it makes us restless with fears, burdens us with cares, and exposes us to insults. Virtue is held too cheap by the man who counts his body too dear. We should cherish the body with the greatest care; but we should also be prepared, when reason, self-respect, and duty demand the sacrifice, to deliver it even to the flames.

Let us, however, in so far as we can, avoid discomforts as well as dangers, and withdraw to safe ground, by thinking continually how we may repel all objects of fear. If I am not mistaken, there are three main classes of these: we fear want, we fear sickness, and we fear the troubles which result from the violence of the stronger. And of all these, that which shakes us most is the dread which hangs over us from our neighbour's ascendancy; for it is accompanied by great outcry and uproar. But the natural evils which I have mentioned,—want and sickness,—steal upon us silently with no shock of terror to the eye or to the ear. The other kind of evil comes,

Ferrum circa se et ignes habet et catenas et turbam
5 ferarum, quam in viscera inmittat humana. Cogita hoc loco carcerem et cruces et eculeos et uncum et adactum per medium hominem, qui per os emergeret, stipitem et distracta in diversum actis curribus membra, illam tunicam alimentis ignium et inlitam et textam, et quicquid aliud praeter haec commenta
6 saevitia est. Non est itaque mirum, si maximus huius rei timor est, cuius et varietas magna et apparatus terribilis est. Nam quemadmodum plus agit tortor, quo plura instrumenta doloris exposuit (specie enim vincuntur qui patientia restitissent); ita ex iis, quae animos nostros subigunt et domant, plus proficiunt, quae habent quod ostendant. Illae pestes non minus graves sunt, famem dico et sitim et praecordiorum subpurationes et febrem viscera ipsa torrentem. Sed latent, nihil habent quod intentent, quod praeferant; haec ut magna bella aspectu apparatuque vicerunt.

7 Demus itaque operam, abstineamus offensis. Interdum populus est, quem timere debeamus; interdum si ea civitatis disciplina est, ut plurima per senatum transigantur, gratiosi in eo viri; interdum singuli, quibus potestas populi et in populum data est. Hos omnes amicos habere operosum est, satis

[a] *Cf.* Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 44, describing the tortures practised upon the Christians.

so to speak, in the form of a huge parade. Surrounding it is a retinue of swords and fire and chains and a mob of beasts to be let loose upon the disembowelled entrails of men. Picture to yourself under this head the prison, the cross, the rack, the hook, and the stake which they drive straight through a man until it protrudes from his throat. Think of human limbs torn apart by chariots driven in opposite directions, of the terrible shirt smeared and interwoven with inflammable materials, and of all the other contrivances devised by cruelty, in addition to those which I have mentioned![a] It is not surprising, then, if our greatest terror is of such a fate; for it comes in many shapes and its paraphernalia are terrifying. For just as the torturer accomplishes more in proportion to the number of instruments which he displays,—indeed, the spectacle overcomes those who would have patiently withstood the suffering,—similarly, of all the agencies which coerce and master our minds, the most effective are those which can make a display. Those other troubles are of course not less serious; I mean hunger, thirst, ulcers of the stomach, and fever that parches our very bowels. They are, however, secret; they have no bluster and no heralding; but these, like huge arrays of war, prevail by virtue of their display and their equipment.

Let us, therefore, see to it that we abstain from giving offence. It is sometimes the people that we ought to fear; or sometimes a body of influential oligarchs in the Senate, if the method of governing the State is such that most of the business is done by that body; and sometimes individuals equipped with power by the people and against the people. It is burdensome to keep the friendship of all such

est inimicos non habere. Itaque sapiens numquam potentium iras provocabit, immo declinabit,[1] non
8 aliter quam in navigando procellam. Cum peteres Siciliam, traiecisti fretum. Temerarius gubernator contempsit austri minas, ille est enim, qui Siculum pelagus exasperet et in vertices cogat; non sinistrum petit litus, sed id, a quo[2] propior Charybdis maria convolvit. At ille cautior peritos locorum rogat, quis aestus sit, quae signa dent nubes; longe ab illa regione verticibus infami cursum tenet. Idem facit sapiens; nocituram potentiam vitat, hoc primum cavens, ne vitare videatur. Pars enim securitatis et in hoc est, non ex professo eam petere, quia, quae quis fugit, damnat.

9 Circumspiciendum ergo nobis est, quomodo a vulgo tuti esse possimus. Primum nihil idem concupiscamus; rixa est inter competitores. Deinde nihil habeamus, quod cum magno emolumento insidiantis eripi possit. Quam minimum sit in corpore tuo spoliorum. Nemo ad humanum sanguinem propter ipsum venit, aut admodum pauci. Plures computant quam oderunt. Nudum latro trans-
10 mittit; etiam in obsessa via pauperi pax est. Tria deinde ex praecepto veteri praestanda sunt ut vitentur: odium, invidia, contemptus. Quomodo hoc fiat, sapientia sola monstrabit. Difficile enim tem-

[1] *declinabit* L[3]b; *nec declinabit* pL[1].
[2] *sed id, a quo* Hense, Thomas; *sed ita quo* MSS.

[a] Scylla was a rock on the Italian side of the Straits. Charybdis was a whirlpool on the Sicilian side. Servius on Vergil, *Aeneid*, iii. 420 defines the *dextrum* as the shore "to the right of those coming from the Ionian sea."

[b] *Cf.* Juvenal x. 22 *cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.*

persons; it is enough not to make enemies of them. So the wise man will never provoke the anger of those in power; nay, he will even turn his course, precisely as he would turn from a storm if he were steering a ship. When you travelled to Sicily, you crossed the Straits. The reckless pilot scorned the blustering South Wind,—the wind which roughens the Sicilian Sea and forces it into choppy currents; he sought not the shore on the left,[a] but the strand hard by the place where Charybdis throws the seas into confusion. Your more careful pilot, however, questions those who know the locality as to the tides and the meaning of the clouds; he holds his course far from that region notorious for its swirling waters. Our wise man does the same; he shuns a strong man who may be injurious to him, making a point of not seeming to avoid him, because an important part of one's safety lies in not seeking safety openly; for what one avoids, one condemns.

We should therefore look about us, and see how we may protect ourselves from the mob. And first of all, we should have no cravings like theirs; for rivalry results in strife. Again, let us possess nothing that can be snatched from us to the great profit of a plotting foe. Let there be as little booty as possible on your person. No one sets out to shed the blood of his fellow-men for the sake of bloodshed,—at any rate very few. More murderers speculate on their profits than give vent to hatred. If you are empty-handed, the highwayman passes you by; even along an infested road, the poor may travel in peace.[b] Next, we must follow the old adage and avoid three things with special care: hatred, jealousy, and scorn. And wisdom alone can show you how this may be done. It is hard to

peramentum est, verendumque, ne in contemptum nos invidiae[1] timor transferat ne dum calcare nolumus, videamur posse calcari. Multis timendi attulit causas timeri posse. Undique nos reducamus; non minus contemni quam suspici nocet.

11 Ad philosophiam ergo confugiendum est; hae litterae, non dico apud bonos, sed apud mediocriter malos, infularum loco sunt. Nam forensis eloquentia et quaecumque alia populum movet, adversarios habet; haec quieta et sui negotii contemni non potest, cui ab omnibus artibus etiam apud pessimos honor est. Numquam in tantum convalescet nequitia, numquam sic contra virtutes coniurabitur, ut non philosophiae nomen venerabile et sacrum maneat.

Ceterum philosophia ipsa tranquille modesteque
12 tractanda est. "Quid ergo?" inquis, "Videtur tibi M. Cato modeste philosophari, qui bellum civile sententia reprimit? Qui furentium principum armis medius intervenit? Qui aliis Pompeium offenden-
13 tibus aliis Caesarem simul lacessit duos?" Potest aliquis disputare an illo tempore capessenda fuerit sapienti res publica. "Quid tibi vis, Marce Cato? Iam non agitur de libertate; olim pessumdata est. Quaeritur, utrum Caesar an Pompeius possideat rem publicam; quid tibi cum ista contentione? Nullae

[1] *invidiae* Muretus; *invidia et* MSS.

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[a] *Cf.* the proverb *necesse est multos timeat quem multi timent*, which is found in Seneca, *de Ira*, ii. 11. 4 and often elsewhere.

[b] Literally, "is as good as a (priest's) fillet."

observe a mean; we must be chary of letting the fear of jealousy lead us into becoming objects of scorn, lest, when we choose not to stamp others down, we let them think that they can stamp us down. The power to inspire fear has caused many men to be in fear.[a] Let us withdraw ourselves in every way; for it is as harmful to be scorned as to be admired.

One must therefore take refuge in philosophy; this pursuit, not only in the eyes of good men, but also in the eyes of those who are even moderately bad, is a sort of protecting emblem.[b] For speech-making at the bar, or any other pursuit that claims the people's attention, wins enemies for a man; but philosophy is peaceful and minds her own business. Men cannot scorn her; she is honoured by every profession, even the vilest among them. Evil can never grow so strong, and nobility of character can never be so plotted against, that the name of philosophy shall cease to be worshipful and sacred.

Philosophy itself, however, should be practised with calmness and moderation. "Very well, then," you retort, "do you regard the philosophy of Marcus Cato as moderate? Cato's voice strove to check a civil war. Cato parted the swords of maddened chieftains. When some fell foul of Pompey and others fell foul of Caesar, Cato defied both parties at once!" Nevertheless, one may well question whether, in those days, a wise man ought to have taken any part in public affairs, and ask: "What do you mean, Marcus Cato? It is not now a question of freedom; long since has freedom gone to rack and ruin. The question is, whether it is Caesar or Pompey who controls the State. Why, Cato, should you take sides in that dispute? It is no business of yours; a

partes tuae sunt; dominus eligitur. Quid tua, uter[1] vincat? Potest melior vincere, non potest non peior esse, qui vicerit." Ultimas partes attigi Catonis. Sed ne priores quidem anni fuerunt qui sapientem in illam rapinam rei publicae admitterent; quid aliud quam vociferatus est Cato et misit irritas voces, cum modo per populi levatus manus et obrutus sputis exportandus[2] extra forum traheretur, modo e senatu in carcerem duceretur?

14 Sed postea videbimus, an sapienti opera rei publicae danda sit[3]; interim ad hos te Stoicos voco, qui a re publica exclusi secesserunt ad colendam vitam et humano generi iura condenda sine ulla potentioris offensa. Non conturbabit sapiens publicos mores nec populum in se vitae novitate convertet.

15 "Quid ergo? Utique erit tutus, qui hoc propositum sequetur?" Promittere tibi hoc non magis possum quam in homine temperanti bonam valitudinem, et tamen facit temperantia bonam valitudinem. Perit aliqua navis in portu; sed quid tu accidere in medio mari credis? Quanto huic periculum paratius foret multa agenti molientique, cui ne otium quidem tutum est? Pereunt aliquando innocentes; quis negat? Nocentes tamen saepius. Ars ei constat,
16 qui per ornamenta percussus est. Denique consilium

[1] *tua, uter* Lipsius; *tu alter* MSS.
[2] *exportandus* Pincianus; *et portandus* MSS.
[3] *an sapienti opera rei publicae danda sit* Madvig; *an sapienti ora opera perdenda sint* pL; *num* (*an* b) *sapientiora opera perdenda* (*perpendenda* b) *sit* (*sunt* b) Pb.

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[a] *Cf.* Tac. *Hist.* i. 50 *inter duos quorum bello solum id scires, deteriorem fore qui vicisset.*
[b] See, for example, Letter xxii.

tyrant is being selected. What does it concern you who conquers? The better man may win; but the winner is bound to be the worse man." [a] I have referred to Cato's final rôle. But even in previous years the wise man was not permitted to intervene in such plundering of the state; for what could Cato do but raise his voice and utter unavailing words? At one time he was "hustled" by the mob and spat upon and forcibly removed from the forum and marked for exile; at another, he was taken straight to prison from the senate-chamber.

However, we shall consider later [b] whether the wise man ought to give his attention to politics; meanwhile, I beg you to consider those Stoics who, shut out from public life, have withdrawn into privacy for the purpose of improving men's existence and framing laws for the human race without incurring the displeasure of those in power. The wise man will not upset the customs of the people, nor will he invite the attention of the populace by any novel ways of living.

"What then? Can one who follows out this plan be safe in any case?" I cannot guarantee you this any more than I can guarantee good health in the case of a man who observes moderation; although, as a matter of fact, good health results from such moderation. Sometimes a vessel perishes in harbour; but what do you think happens on the open sea? And how much more beset with danger that man would be, who even in his leisure is not secure, if he were busily working at many things! Innocent persons sometimes perish; who would deny that? But the guilty perish more frequently. A soldier's skill is not at fault if he receives the death-blow through his armour. And finally, the wise man

rerum omnium sapiens, non exitum spectat. Initia in potestate nostra sunt; de eventu fortuna iudicat, cui de me sententiam non do. "At aliquid vexationis adferet, aliquid adversi." Non damnat[1] latro, cum occidit.

17 Nunc ad cotidianam stipem manum porrigis. Aurea te stipe implebo, et quia facta est auri mentio, accipe quemadmodum usus fructusque eius tibi esse gratior possit. "Is maxime divitiis fruitur, qui minime divitiis indiget." "Ede," inquis, "auctorem." Ut scias quam benigni simus, propositum est aliena laudare; Epicuri est aut Metrodori aut alicuius ex
18 illa officina. Et quid interest quis dixerit? Omnibus dixit. Qui eget divitiis, timet pro illis. Nemo autem sollicito bono fruitur; adicere illis aliquid studet. Dum de incremento cogitat, oblitus est usus. Rationes accipit, forum conterit, kalendarium versat; fit ex domino procurator. VALE.

XV.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Mos antiquis fuit usque ad meam servatus aetatem, primis epistulae verbis adicere: "Si vales bene est, ego valeo." Recte nos dicimus: "Si philosopharis,

[1] *damnat* Gronovius; *damnatur* MSS.; *dominatur* Schweighäuser. Haase, followed by Hense, indicates a lacuna after *occidit.*

[a] Epicurus, *Ep.* iii. p. 63. 19 Usener.

[b] Named *kalendarium* because interest was reckoned according to the Kalends of each month.

regards the reason for all his actions, but not the results. The beginning is in our own power; fortune decides the issue, but I do not allow her to pass sentence upon myself. You may say: "But she can inflict a measure of suffering and of trouble." The highwayman does not pass sentence when he slays.

Now you are stretching forth your hand for the daily gift. Golden indeed will be the gift with which I shall load you; and, inasmuch as we have mentioned gold, let me tell you how its use and enjoyment may bring you greater pleasure. "He who needs riches least, enjoys riches most."[a] "Author's name, please!" you say. Now, to show you how generous I am, it is my intent to praise the dicta of other schools. The phrase belongs to Epicurus, or Metrodorus, or some one of that particular thinking-shop. But what difference does it make who spoke the words? They were uttered for the world. He who craves riches feels fear on their account. No man, however, enjoys a blessing that brings anxiety; he is always trying to add a little more. While he puzzles over increasing his wealth, he forgets how to use it. He collects his accounts, he wears out the pavement in the forum, he turns over his ledger,[b]—in short, he ceases to be master and becomes a steward. Farewell.

XV. ON BRAWN AND BRAINS

The old Romans had a custom which survived even into my lifetime. They would add to the opening words of a letter: "If you are well, it is well; I also am well." Persons like ourselves would do

bene est." Valere autem hoc demum est. Sine hoc aeger est animus. Corpus quoque, etiam si magnas habet vires, non aliter quam furiosi aut phrenetici
2 validum est. Ergo hanc praecipue valitudinem cura, deinde et illam secundam, quae non magno tibi constabit, si volueris bene valere. Stulta est enim, mi Lucili, et minime conveniens litterato viro occupatio exercendi lacertos et dilatandi cervicem ac latera firmandi; cum tibi feliciter sagina cesserit et tori creverint, nec vires umquam opimi bovis nec pondus aequabis. Adice nunc, quod maiore corporis sarcina animus eliditur et minus agilis est. Itaque quantum potes, circumscribe corpus tuum et animo locum laxa.
3 Multa secuntur incommoda huic deditos curae; primum exercitationes, quarum labor spiritum exhaurit et inhabilem intentioni ac studiis acrioribus reddit. Deinde copia ciborum subtilitas inpeditur. Accedunt pessimae notae mancipia in magisterium recepta, homines inter oleum et vinum occupati, quibus ad votum dies actus est, si bene desudaverunt, si in locum eius, quod effluxit, multum potionis altius ieiunio[1] iturae regesserunt. Bibere et sudare vita cardiaci est.

4 Sunt exercitationes et faciles et breves, quae corpus et sine mora lassent et tempori parcant, cuius praecipua ratio habenda est: cursus et cum aliquo

[1] *ieiunio* Madvig; *in ieiuno* pPb; *in ieiunio* L[1].

[a] *i.e.*, the prize-ring; the contestants were rubbed with oil before the fight began.

[b] *Cardiacus* meant, according to Pliny, *N.H.* xxiii. 1. 24, a sort of dyspepsia accompanied by fever and perspiration. Compare the man in Juvenal v. 32, who will not send a spoonful of wine to a friend ill of this complaint.

well to say: "If you are studying philosophy, it is well." For this is just what "being well" means. Without philosophy the mind is sickly, and the body, too, though it may be very powerful, is strong only as that of a madman or a lunatic is strong. This, then, is the sort of health you should primarily cultivate; the other kind of health comes second, and will involve little effort, if you wish to be well physically. It is indeed foolish, my dear Lucilius, and very unsuitable for a cultivated man, to work hard over developing the muscles and broadening the shoulders and strengthening the lungs. For although your heavy feeding produce good results and your sinews grow solid, you can never be a match, either in strength or in weight, for a first-class bull. Besides, by overloading the body with food you strangle the soul and render it less active. Accordingly, limit the flesh as much as possible, and allow free play to the spirit. Many inconveniences beset those who devote themselves to such pursuits. In the first place, they have their exercises, at which they must work and waste their life-force and render it less fit to bear a strain or the severer studies. Second, their keen edge is dulled by heavy eating. Besides, they must take orders from slaves of the vilest stamp,—men who alternate between the oil-flask [a] and the flagon, whose day passes satisfactorily if they have got up a good perspiration and quaffed, to make good what they have lost in sweat, huge draughts of liquor which will sink deeper because of their fasting. Drinking and sweating,—it's the life of a dyspeptic! [b]

Now there are short and simple exercises which tire the body rapidly, and so save our time; and time is something of which we ought to keep strict account.

pondere manus motae et saltus vel ille, qui corpus in altum levat, vel ille, qui in longum mittit, vel ille, ut ita dicam, saliaris[1] aut, ut contumeliosius dicam, fullonius; quoius[2] libet ex his elige usum rudem,
5 facilem. Quicquid facies, cito redi a corpore ad animum. Illum noctibus ac diebus exerce; labore modico alitur ille. Hanc exercitationem non frigus, non aestus inpediet, ne senectus quidem. Id bonum
6 cura, quod vetustate fit melius. Neque ego te iubeo semper inminere libro aut pugillaribus; dandum est aliquod intervallum animo, ita tamen ut non resolvatur, sed remittatur. Gestatio et corpus concutit et studio non officit; possis legere, possis dictare, possis loqui, possis audire, quorum nihil ne ambulatio quidem vetat fieri.

7 Nec tu intentionem vocis contempseris, quam veto te per gradus et certos modos extollere, deinde deprimere. Quid si velis deinde quemadmodum ambules discere? Admitte istos, quos nova artificia docuit fames; erit qui gradus tuos temperet et buccas edentis observet et in tantum procedat, in quantum audaciam eius patientia et credulitate[3] produxeris. Quid ergo? A clamore protinus et a summa contentione vox tua incipiet? Usque eo naturale est paulatim incitari, ut litigantes quoque a sermone incipiunt,[4] ad vociferationem transeunt.[5] Nemo statim

[1] *saliaris* Madvig; *salutaris* pLb; *saltaris* P.
[2] *quoius* Buecheler; *quos* (*quod*) *libet* MSS.
[3] *patientia et credulitate* Lipsius; *patientiae credulitate* (*crudelitate*) MSS.
[4] *incipiunt* Capps; *incipiant* MSS.
[5] *transeunt* L[1]; *transeant* other MSS., Hense.

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[a] Named from the Salii, or leaping priests of Mars.
[b] The fuller, or washerman, cleansed the clothes by leaping and stamping upon them in the tub.

These exercises are running, brandishing weights, and jumping,—high-jumping or broad-jumping, or the kind which I may call "the Priest's dance," [a] or, in slighting terms, "the clothes-cleaner's jump." [b] Select for practice any one of these, and you will find it plain and easy. But whatever you do, come back soon from body to mind. The mind must be exercised both day and night, for it is nourished by moderate labour; and this form of exercise need not be hampered by cold or hot weather, or even by old age. Cultivate that good which improves with the years. Of course I do not command you to be always bending over your books and your writing materials; the mind must have a change,—but a change of such a kind that it is not unnerved, but merely unbent. Riding in a litter shakes up the body, and does not interfere with study; one may read, dictate, converse, or listen to another; nor does walking prevent any of these things.

You need not scorn voice-culture; but I forbid you to practise raising and lowering your voice by scales and specific intonations. What if you should next propose to take lessons in walking! If you consult the sort of person whom starvation has taught new tricks, you will have someone to regulate your steps, watch every mouthful as you eat, and go to such lengths as you yourself, by enduring him and believing in him, have encouraged his effrontery to go. "What, then?" you will ask; "Is my voice to begin at the outset with shouting and straining the lungs to the utmost?" No; the natural thing is that it be aroused to such a pitch by easy stages, just as persons who are wrangling begin with ordinary conversational tones and then pass to shouting at the top of their lungs. No speaker cries "Help me,

8 Quiritium fidem inplorat. Ergo utcumque tibi impetus animi suaserit, modo vehementius fac[1] convicium, modo lentius, prout vox quoque te hortabitur, in id latus. Modesta, cum recipies illam revocarisque, descendat, non decidat; media oris via abeat[2] nec indocto et rustico more desaeviat. Non enim id agimus, ut exerceatur vox, sed ut exerceat.

9 Detraxi tibi non pusillum negotii; una mercedula et unum Graecum ad haec beneficia accedet. Ecce insigne praeceptum: "Stulta vita ingrata est et trepida; tota in futurum fertur." "Quis hoc," inquis, "dicit?" Idem qui supra. Quam tu nunc vitam dici existimas stultam? Babae et Isionis? Non ita est; nostra dicitur, quos caeca cupiditas in nocitura, certe numquam satiatura praecipitat, quibus si quid satis esse posset, fuisset, qui non cogitamus, quam iucundum sit nihil poscere, quam magnificum sit
10 plenum esse nec ex fortuna pendere. Subinde itaque, Lucili, quam multa sis consecutus recordare. Cum aspexeris, quot te antecedant, cogita, quot sequantur. Si vis gratus esse adversus deos et adversus vitam tuam, cogita, quam multos antecesseris. Quid tibi cum ceteris? Te ipse antecessisti.

[1] *fac vicinis* MSS.; Hense condemns *vicinis.*
[2] *media oris via abeat* Madvig and Buecheler; *mediatoris sui habeat* L[1]P.

[a] *i.e.*, Epicurus, Frag. 491 Usener.
[b] Court fools of the period.

citizens!" at the outset of his speech. Therefore, whenever your spirit's impulse prompts you, raise a hubbub, now in louder now in milder tones, according as your voice, as well as your spirit, shall suggest to you, when you are moved to such a performance. Then let your voice, when you rein it in and call it back to earth, come down gently, not collapse; it should trail off in tones half way between high and low, and should not abruptly drop from its raving in the uncouth manner of countrymen. For our purpose is, not to give the voice exercise, but to make it give us exercise.

You see, I have relieved you of no slight bother; and I shall throw in a little complementary present,—it is Greek, too. Here is the proverb; it is an excellent one: "The fool's life is empty of gratitude and full of fears; its course lies wholly toward the future." "Who uttered these words?" you say. The same writer whom I mentioned before.[a] And what sort of life do you think is meant by the fool's life? That of Baba and Isio[b]? No; he means our own, for we are plunged by our blind desires into ventures which will harm us, but certainly will never satisfy us; for if we could be satisfied with anything, we should have been satisfied long ago; nor do we reflect how pleasant it is to demand nothing, how noble it is to be contented and not to be dependent upon Fortune. Therefore continually remind yourself, Lucilius, how many ambitions you have attained. When you see many ahead of you, think how many are behind! If you would thank the gods, and be grateful for your past life, you should contemplate how many men you have outstripped. But what have you to do with the others? You have outstripped yourself.

11 Finem constitue, quem transire ne velis quidem,[1] si possis; discedant aliquando ista insidiosa bona et sperantibus meliora quam adsecutis. Si quid in illis esset solidi, aliquando et inplerent; nunc haurientium sitim concitant. Mittantur[2] speciosi apparatus. Et quod futuri temporis incerta sors volvit, quare potius a fortuna inpetrem, ut det, quam a me, ne petam? Quare autem petam? Oblitus fragilitatis humanae congeram? In quid laborem? Ecce hic dies ultimus est. Ut non sit; prope ab ultimo est. VALE.

XVI.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Liquere hoc tibi, Lucili, scio, neminem posse beate vivere, ne tolerabiliter quidem sine sapientiae studio et beatam vitam perfecta sapientia effici, ceterum tolerabilem etiam inchoata. Sed hoc, quod liquet, firmandum et altius cotidiana meditatione figendum est; plus operis est in eo, ut proposita custodias quam ut honesta proponas. Perseverandum est et adsiduo studio robur addendum, donec bona
2 mens sit quod bona voluntas est. Itaque tibi apud me pluribus verbis aut adfirmatione iam[3] nil opus

[1] *ne possis quidem si velis* MSS.; order corrected by Gertz.
[2] *mittantur* Madvig; *imitantur* MSS.
[3] *adfirmatione iam* Madvig; *adfirmatis nec tam* (*multum* L) *longis* MSS.

Fix a limit which you will not even desire to pass, should you have the power. At last, then, away with all these treacherous goods! They look better to those who hope for them than to those who have attained them. If there were anything substantial in them, they would sooner or later satisfy you; as it is, they merely rouse the drinkers' thirst. Away with fripperies which only serve for show! As to what the future's uncertain lot has in store, why should I demand of Fortune that she give, rather than demand of myself that I should not crave? And why should I crave? Shall I heap up my winnings, and forget that man's lot is unsubstantial? For what end should I toil? Lo, to-day is the last; if not, it is near the last. Farewell.

XVI. ON PHILOSOPHY, THE GUIDE OF LIFE

It is clear to you, I am sure, Lucilius, that no man can live a happy life, or even a supportable life, without the study of wisdom; you know also that a happy life is reached when our wisdom is brought to completion, but that life is at least endurable even when our wisdom is only begun. This idea, however, clear though it is, must be strengthened and implanted more deeply by daily reflection; it is more important for you to keep the resolutions you have already made than to go on and make noble ones. You must persevere, must develop new strength by continuous study, until that which is only a good inclination becomes a good settled purpose. Hence you no longer need to come to me with much talk and protestations; I know that you

intellego multum te profecisse. Quae scribis, unde veniant, scio; non sunt ficta nec colorata. Dicam tamen quid sentiam: iam de te spem habeo, nondum fiduciam. Tu quoque idem facias volo; non est, quod tibi cito et facile credas. Excute te et varie scrutare et observa; illud ante omnia vide, utrum in
3 philosophia an in ipsa vita profeceris. Non est philosophia populare artificium nec ostentationi paratum. Non in verbis, sed in rebus est. Nec in hoc adhibetur, ut cum aliqua oblectatione consumatur dies, ut dematur otio nausia. Animum format et fabricat, vitam disponit, actiones regit, agenda et omittenda demonstrat, sedet ad gubernaculum et per ancipitia fluctuantium derigit cursum. Sine hac nemo intrepide potest vivere, nemo secure. Innumerabilia accidunt singulis horis, quae consilium exigant, quod ab hac petendum est.

4 Dicet aliquis: "Quid mihi prodest philosophia, si fatum est? Quid prodest, si deus rector est? Quid prodest, si casus imperat? Nam et mutari certa non possunt et nihil praeparari potest adversus incerta; sed aut consilium meum occupavit deus decrevitque quid facerem, aut consilio meo nihil fortuna permittit."
5 Quicquid est ex his, Lucili, vel si omnia haec sunt, philosophandum est: sive nos inexorabili lege fata

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[a] *i.e.*, have merely advanced in years.

have made great progress. I understand the feelings which prompt your words; they are not feigned or specious words. Nevertheless I shall tell you what I think,—that at present I have hopes for you, but not yet perfect trust. And I wish that you would adopt the same attitude towards yourself; there is no reason why you should put confidence in yourself too quickly and readily. Examine yourself; scrutinize and observe yourself in divers ways; but mark, before all else, whether it is in philosophy or merely in life itself[a] that you have made progress. Philosophy is no trick to catch the public; it is not devised for show. It is a matter, not of words, but of facts. It is not pursued in order that the day may yield some amusement before it is spent, or that our leisure may be relieved of a tedium that irks us. It moulds and constructs the soul; it orders our life, guides our conduct, shows us what we should do and what we should leave undone; it sits at the helm and directs our course as we waver amid uncertainties. Without it, no one can live fearlessly or in peace of mind. Countless things that happen every hour call for advice; and such advice is to be sought in philosophy.

Perhaps someone will say: "How can philosophy help me, if Fate exists? Of what avail is philosophy, if God rules the universe? Of what avail is it, if Chance governs everything? For not only is it impossible to change things that are determined, but it is also impossible to plan beforehand against what is undetermined; either God has forestalled my plans, and decided what I am to do, or else Fortune gives no free play to my plans." Whether the truth, Lucilius, lies in one or in all of these views, we must be philosophers; whether Fate binds us down by an

constringunt, sive arbiter deus universi cuncta disposuit, sive casus res humanas sine ordine inpellit et iactat, philosophia nos tueri debet. Haec adhortabitur, ut deo libenter pareamus, ut fortunae contumaciter; haec docebit, ut deum sequaris, feras
6 casum. Sed non est nunc in hanc disputationem transeundum, quid sit iuris nostri, si providentia in imperio est, aut si fatorum series inligatos trahit, aut si repentina ac subita dominantur; illo nunc revertor, ut te moneam et exhorter, ne patiaris inpetum animi tui delabi et refrigescere. Contine illum et constitue, ut habitus animi fiat, quod est inpetus.

7 Iam ab initio, si te bene novi, circumspicies, quid haec epistula munusculi attulerit. Excute illam, et invenies. Non est quod mireris animum meum; adhuc de alieno liberalis sum. Quare autem alienum dixi? Quicquid bene dictum est ab ullo, meum est. Istuc quoque ab Epicuro dictum est: "Si ad naturam vives, numquam eris pauper; si ad opiniones,
8 numquam eris dives." Exiguum natura desiderat, opinio inmensum. Congeratur in te quicquid multi locupletes possederant. Ultra privatum pecuniae modum fortuna te provehat, auro tegat, purpura vestiat, eo deliciarum opumque perducat, ut terram marmoribus abscondas, non tantum habere tibi liceat, sed calcare divitias. Accedant statuae et picturae

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[a] Frag. 201 Usener.

inexorable law, or whether God as arbiter of the universe has arranged everything, or whether Chance drives and tosses human affairs without method, philosophy ought to be our defence. She will encourage us to obey God cheerfully, but Fortune defiantly; she will teach us to follow God and endure Chance. But it is not my purpose now to be led into a discussion as to what is within our own control,—if foreknowledge is supreme, or if a chain of fated events drags us along in its clutches, or if the sudden and the unexpected play the tyrant over us; I return now to my warning and my exhortation, that you should not allow the impulse of your spirit to weaken and grow cold. Hold fast to it and establish it firmly, in order that what is now impulse may become a habit of the mind.

If I know you well, you have already been trying to find out, from the very beginning of my letter, what little contribution it brings to you. Sift the letter, and you will find it. You need not wonder at any genius of mine; for as yet I am lavish only with other men's property.—But why did I say "other men"? Whatever is well said by anyone is mine.—This also is a saying of Epicurus[a]: "If you live according to nature, you will never be poor; if you live according to opinion, you will never be rich." Nature's wants are slight; the demands of opinion are boundless. Suppose that the property of many millionaires is heaped up in your possession. Assume that fortune carries you far beyond the limits of a private income, decks you with gold, clothes you in purple, and brings you to such a degree of luxury and wealth that you can bury the earth under your marble floors; that you may not only possess, but tread upon, riches. Add statues, paintings, and

et quicquid ars ulla luxuriae elaboravit; maiora cupere ab his disces.

9 Naturalia desideria finita sunt; ex falsa opinione nascentia ubi desinant, non habent. Nullus enim terminus falso est. Viam eunti aliquid extremum est; error inmensus est. Retrahe ergo te a vanis, et cum voles scire, quod petes, utrum naturalem habeat an caecam cupiditatem, considera, num possit alicubi consistere. Si longe progresso semper aliquid longius restat, scito id naturale non esse. Vale.

XVII.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Proice omnia ista, si sapis, immo ut sapias, et ad bonam mentem magno cursu ac totis viribus tende. Si quid est, quo teneris, aut expedi aut incide. "Moratur," inquis, "me res familiaris; sic illam disponere volo, ut sufficere nihil agenti possit, ne aut
2 paupertas mihi oneri sit aut ego alicui." Cum hoc dicis, non videris vim ac potentiam eius, de quo cogitas, boni nosse. Et summam quidem rei pervides, quantum philosophia prosit, partes autem nondum satis subtiliter dispicis, necdum scis, quantum ubique nos adiuvet, quemadmodum et in maximis,

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[a] Perhaps from the *Hortensius*; see Müller, *Frag.* 98, p. 326.

whatever any art has devised for the satisfaction of luxury; you will only learn from such things to crave still greater.

Natural desires are limited; but those which spring from false opinion can have no stopping-point. The false has no limits. When you are travelling on a road, there must be an end; but when astray, your wanderings are limitless. Recall your steps, therefore, from idle things, and when you would know whether that which you seek is based upon a natural or upon a misleading desire, consider whether it can stop at any definite point. If you find, after having travelled far, that there is a more distant goal always in view, you may be sure that this condition is contrary to nature. Farewell.

XVII. ON PHILOSOPHY AND RICHES

Cast away everything of that sort, if you are wise; nay, rather that you may be wise; strive toward a sound mind at top speed and with your whole strength. If any bond holds you back, untie it, or sever it. "But," you say, "my estate delays me; I wish to make such disposition of it that it may suffice for me when I have nothing to do, lest either poverty be a burden to me, or I myself a burden to others." You do not seem, when you say this, to know the strength and power of that good which you are considering. You do indeed grasp the all-important thing, the great benefit which philosophy confers, but you do not yet discern accurately its various functions, nor do you yet know how great is the help we receive from philosophy in everything, everywhere,—how, (to use Cicero's language,[a]) it

ut Ciceronis utar verbo, opituletur et in minima descendat. Mihi crede, advoca illam in consilium;
3 suadebit tibi, ne ad calculos sedeas. Nempe hoc quaeris et hoc ista dilatione vis consequi, ne tibi paupertas timenda sit; quid si adpetenda est? Multis ad philosophandum obstitere divitiae; paupertas expedita est, secura est. Cum classicum cecinit, scit non se peti; cum aqua conclamata[1] est, quomodo exeat, non quid efferat, quaerit; si[2] navigandum est, non strepitat[3] portus nec unius comitatu inquieta sunt litora. Non circumstat illum turba servorum, ad quos pascendos transmarinarum regionum est op-
4 tanda fertilitas. Facile est pascere paucos ventres et bene institutos et nihil aliud desiderantes quam inpleri. Parvo fames constat, magno fastidium. Paupertas contenta est desideriis instantibus satis facere.

Quid est ergo, quare hanc recuses contubernalem,
5 cuius mores sanus dives imitatur? si vis vacare animo, aut pauper sis oportet aut pauperi similis. Non potest studium salutare fieri sine frugalitatis cura; frugalitas autem paupertas voluntaria est. Tolle itaque istas excusationes: "Nondum habeo, quantum satis est; si ad illam summam pervenero, tunc me totum philosophiae dabo." Atqui nihil prius quam hoc parandum est, quod tu differs et post cetera paras; ab hoc incipiendum est. "Parare," inquis, "unde vivam

[1] *aqua conclamata* Gertz and Buecheler; *aliqua conclamata* MSS.
[2] *ut (aut) si* MSS.; *ut* del. Hense.
[3] *strepitat* Hense; *strepit at* p; *strepunt* LPb.

[a] Literally, "Water!"

not only succours us in the greatest matters but also descends to the smallest. Take my advice; call wisdom into consultation; she will advise you not to sit for ever at your ledger. Doubtless, your object, what you wish to attain by such postponement of your studies, is that poverty may not have to be feared by you. But what if it is something to be desired? Riches have shut off many a man from the attainment of wisdom; poverty is unburdened and free from care. When the trumpet sounds, the poor man knows that he is not being attacked; when there is a cry of "Fire,"[a] he only seeks a way of escape, and does not ask what he can save; if the poor man must go to sea, the harbour does not resound, nor do the wharves bustle with the retinue of one individual. No throng of slaves surrounds the poor man,—slaves for whose mouths the master must covet the fertile crops of regions beyond the sea. It is easy to fill a few stomachs, when they are well trained and crave nothing else but to be filled. Hunger costs but little; squeamishness costs much. Poverty is contented with fulfilling pressing needs.

Why, then, should you reject Philosophy as a comrade? Even the rich man copies her ways when he is in his senses. If you wish to have leisure for your mind, either be a poor man, or resemble a poor man. Study cannot be helpful unless you take pains to live simply; and living simply is voluntary poverty. Away, then, with all excuses like: "I have not yet enough; when I have gained the desired amount, then I shall devote myself wholly to philosophy." And yet this ideal, which you are putting off and placing second to other interests, should be secured first of all; you should begin with it. You

volo." Simul et para et[1] disce; si quid te vetat bene
6 vivere, bene mori non vetat. Non est quod nos paupertas a philosophia revocet, ne egestas quidem. Toleranda est enim ad hoc properantibus vel fames. Quam toleravere quidam in obsidionibus, et quod aliud erat illis patientiae praemium quam in arbitrium non cadere victoris? Quanto hic[2] maius est quod promittitur: perpetua libertas, nullius nec hominis nec dei timor. Et quidem vel esurienti ad ista veniendum
7 est. Perpessi sunt exercitus inopiam omnium rerum, vixerunt herbarum radicibus et dictu foedis tulerunt famem. Haec omnia passi sunt pro regno, quo magis mireris, alieno. Dubitabit aliquis ferre paupertatem, ut animum furoribus liberet?

Non est ergo prius adquirendum; licet ad philo-
8 sophiam etiam sine viatico pervenire. Ita est. Cum omnia habueris, tunc habere et sapientiam voles? Haec erit ultimum vitae instrumentum et, ut ita dicam, additamentum? Tu vero, sive aliquid habes, iam philosophare,—unde enim scis, an iam nimis habeas?—sive nihil, hoc prius quaere quam quic-
9 quam. "At necessaria deerunt." Primum deesse non poterunt, quia natura minimum petit, naturae

[1] *para et* Madvig; *parare* MSS.; *et te parare* Haase.
[2] *hic* Madvig; *hoc* MSS.

retort: "I wish to acquire something to live on." Yes, but learn while you are acquiring it; for if anything forbids you to live nobly, nothing forbids you to die nobly. There is no reason why poverty should call us away from philosophy,—no, nor even actual want. For when hastening after wisdom, we must endure even hunger. Men have endured hunger when their towns were besieged, and what other reward for their endurance did they obtain than that they did not fall under the conqueror's power? How much greater is the promise of the prize of everlasting liberty, and the assurance that we need fear neither God nor man! Even though we starve, we must reach that goal. Armies have endured all manner of want, have lived on roots, and have resisted hunger by means of food too revolting to mention. All this they have suffered to gain a kingdom, and,—what is more marvellous,—to gain a kingdom that will be another's. Will any man hesitate to endure poverty, in order that he may free his mind from madness?

Therefore one should not seek to lay up riches first; one may attain to philosophy, however, even without money for the journey. It is indeed so. After you have come to possess all other things, shall you then wish to possess wisdom also? Is philosophy to be the last requisite in life,—a sort of supplement? Nay, your plan should be this: be a philosopher now, whether you have anything or not,—for if you have anything, how do you know that you have not too much already?—but if you have nothing, seek understanding first, before anything else. "But," you say, "I shall lack the necessities of life." In the first place, you cannot lack them; because nature demands but little, and the wise man

autem se sapiens accommodat. Sed si necessitates ultimae inciderunt, iamdudum exibit e vita et molestus sibi esse desinet. Si vero exiguum erit et angustum, quo possit vita produci, id boni consulet nec ultra necessaria sollicitus aut anxius ventri et scapulis suum reddet et occupationes divitum concursationesque ad divitias euntium securus laetusque
10 ridebit ac dicet: "Quid in longum ipse te differs? Expectabisne fenoris quaestum aut ex merce compendium aut tabulas beati senis, cum fieri possis statim dives? Repraesentat opes sapientia, quas cuicumque fecit supervacuas, dedit." Haec ad alios pertinent; tu locupletibus propior es. Saeculum muta, nimis habes. Idem est[1] autem omni saeculo, quod sat est.

11 Poteram hoc loco epistulam claudere, nisi te male instituissem. Reges Parthorum[2] non potest quisquam salutare sine munere; tibi valedicere non licet gratis. Quid istic? Ab Epicuro mutuum sumam: "Multis parasse divitias non finis miseriarum fuit, sed mutatio."
12 Nec hoc miror. Non est enim in rebus vitium, sed in ipso animo. Illud, quod paupertatem nobis gravem fecerat, et divitias graves fecit. Quemadmodum nihil refert, utrum aegrum in ligneo lecto an in aureo conloces,—quocumque illum transtuleris, morbum secum suum transferet,—sic nihil refert, utrum

[1] *idem est* Gertz; *id est* or *idem* MSS.
[2] *Parthorum* Gertz; *parthos* MSS.

[a] Frag. 479 Usener.

suits his needs to nature. But if the utmost pinch of need arrives, he will quickly take leave of life and cease being a trouble to himself. If, however, his means of existence are meagre and scanty, he will make the best of them, without being anxious or worried about anything more than the bare necessities; he will do justice to his belly and his shoulders; with free and happy spirit he will laugh at the bustling of rich men, and the flurried ways of those who are hastening after wealth, and say: "Why of your own accord postpone your real life to the distant future? Shall you wait for some interest to fall due, or for some income on your merchandise, or for a place in the will of some wealthy old man, when you can be rich here and now? Wisdom offers wealth in ready money, and pays it over to those in whose eyes she has made wealth superfluous." These remarks refer to other men; you are nearer the rich class. Change the age in which you live, and you have too much. But in every age, what is enough remains the same.

I might close my letter at this point, if I had not got you into bad habits. One cannot greet Parthian royalty without bringing a gift; and in your case I cannot say farewell without paying a price. But what of it? I shall borrow from Epicurus[a]: "The acquisition of riches has been for many men, not an end, but a change, of troubles." I do not wonder. For the fault is not in the wealth, but in the mind itself. That which had made poverty a burden to us, has made riches also a burden. Just as it matters little whether you lay a sick man on a wooden or on a golden bed, for whithersoever he be moved he will carry his malady with him; so we need not care whether the diseased mind is be-

aeger animus in divitiis an in paupertate ponatur. Malum illum suum sequitur. Vale.

XVIII.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 December est mensis; cum maxime civitas sudat. Ius luxuriae publicae datum est. Ingenti apparatu sonant omnia, tamquam quicquam inter Saturnalia intersit et dies rerum agendarum. Adeo nihil interest, ut non videatur[1] mihi errasse, qui dixit olim mensem Decembrem fuisse, nunc annum.

2 Si te hic haberem, libenter tecum conferrem, quid existimares esse faciendum: utrum nihil ex cotidiana consuetudine movendum an, ne dissidere videremur cum publicis moribus, et hilarius cenandum et exuendam togam. Nam quod fieri nisi in tumultu et tristi tempore civitatis non solebat, voluptatis causa

3 ac festorum dierum vestem mutavimus. Si te bene novi, arbitri partibus functus nec per omnia nos similes esse pilleatae turbae voluisses nec per omnia dissimiles; nisi forte his maxime diebus animo imperandum est, ut tunc voluptatibus solus abstineat, cum in illas omnis turba procubuit; certissimum enim argumentum firmitatis suae capit, si ad blanda et in

4 luxuriam trahentia nec it nec abducitur. Hoc multo

[1] *ut non videatur* later MSS.; *ut videatur* pLPb.

[a] *i.e.*, the whole year is a Saturnalia.

[b] For a dinner dress.

[c] The *pilleus* was worn by newly freed slaves and by the Roman populace on festal occasions.

stowed upon riches or upon poverty. His malady goes with the man. Farewell.

XVIII. ON FESTIVALS AND FASTING

It is the month of December, and yet the city is at this very moment in a sweat. Licence is given to the general merrymaking. Everything resounds with mighty preparations, — as if the Saturnalia differed at all from the usual business day! So true it is that the difference is nil, that I regard as correct the remark of the man who said: "Once December was a month; now it is a year." [a]

If I had you with me, I should be glad to consult you and find out what you think should be done,— whether we ought to make no change in our daily routine, or whether, in order not to be out of sympathy with the ways of the public, we should dine in gayer fashion and doff the toga.[b] As it is now, we Romans have changed our dress for the sake of pleasure and holiday-making, though in former times that was only customary when the State was disturbed and had fallen on evil days. I am sure that, if I know you aright, playing the part of an umpire you would have wished that we should be neither like the liberty-capped[c] throng in all ways, nor in all ways unlike them; unless, perhaps, this is just the season when we ought to lay down the law to the soul, and bid it be alone in refraining from pleasures just when the whole mob has let itself go in pleasures; for this is the surest proof which a man can get of his own constancy, if he neither seeks the things which are seductive and allure him to luxury, nor is led into them. It shows much

fortius est, ebrio ac vomitante populo siccum ac sobrium esse, illud temperatius, non excerpere se nec insigniri nec misceri omnibus et eadem, sed non eodem modo, facere. Licet enim sine luxuria agere festum diem.

5 Ceterum adeo mihi placet temptare animi tui firmitatem, ut ex praecepto magnorum virorum tibi quoque praecipiam: interponas aliquot dies, quibus contentus minimo ac vilissimo cibo, dura atque horrida
6 veste dicas tibi: "Hoc est quod timebatur?" In ipsa securitate animus ad difficilia se praeparet et contra iniurias fortunae inter beneficia firmetur. Miles in media pace decurrit, sine ullo hoste vallum iacit et supervacuo labore lassatur, ut sufficere necessario possit. Quem in ipsa re trepidare nolueris, ante rem exerceas. Hoc secuti sunt, qui omnibus mensibus paupertatem imitati prope ad inopiam accesserunt, ne umquam expavescerent quod saepe didicissent.

7 Non est nunc quod existimes me dicere Timoneas cenas et pauperum cellas, et quicquid aliud est, per quod luxuria divitiarum taedio ludit; grabatus ille verus sit et sagum et panis durus ac sordidus. Hoc triduo et quatriduo fer, interdum pluribus diebus, ut non lusus sit, sed experimentum; tunc, mihi crede,

[a] The Epicureans. *Cf.* § 9 and Epicurus, Frag. 158 Usener.
[b] *Cf. Ep.* c. 6 and Martial, iii. 48.

more courage to remain dry and sober when the mob is drunk and vomiting; but it shows greater self-control to refuse to withdraw oneself and to do what the crowd does, but in a different way,—thus neither making oneself conspicuous nor becoming one of the crowd. For one may keep holiday without extravagance.

I am so firmly determined, however, to test the constancy of your mind that, drawing from the teachings of great men, I shall give you also a lesson: Set aside a certain number of days, during which you shall be content with the scantiest and cheapest fare, with coarse and rough dress, saying to yourself the while: "Is this the condition that I feared?" It is precisely in times of immunity from care that the soul should toughen itself beforehand for occasions of greater stress, and it is while Fortune is kind that it should fortify itself against her violence. In days of peace the soldier performs manœuvres, throws up earthworks with no enemy in sight, and wearies himself by gratuitous toil, in order that he may be equal to unavoidable toil. If you would not have a man flinch when the crisis comes, train him before it comes. Such is the course which those men [a] have followed who, in their imitation of poverty, have every month come almost to want, that they might never recoil from what they had so often rehearsed.

You need not suppose that I mean meals like Timon's, or "paupers' huts," [b] or any other device which luxurious millionaires use to beguile the tedium of their lives. Let the pallet be a real one, and the coarse cloak; let the bread be hard and grimy. Endure all this for three or four days at a time, sometimes for more, so that it may be a test of yourself instead of a mere hobby. Then, I assure

Lucili, exultabis dipondio satur et intelleges ad securitatem non opus esse fortuna; hoc enim, quod necessitati sat est, dat et[1] irata.

8 Non est tamen quare tu multum tibi facere videaris. Facies enim, quod multa milia servorum, multa milia pauperum faciunt; illo nomine te suspice, quod facies non coactus, quod tam facile erit tibi illud pati semper quam aliquando experiri. Exerceamur ad palum. Et ne inparatos fortuna deprehendat, fiat nobis paupertas familiaris. Securius divites erimus, si scierimus, quam non sit grave pauperes esse.

9 Certos habebat dies ille magister voluptatis Epicurus, quibus maligne famem extingueret, visurus, an aliquid deesset ex plena et consummata voluptate, vel quantum deesset et an dignum quod quis magno labore pensaret. Hoc certe in his epistulis ait, quas scripsit Charino magistratu ad Polyaenum. Et quidem gloriatur non toto asse se[2] pasci, Metrodorum,
10 qui nondum tantum profecerit, toto. In hoc tu victu saturitatem putas esse? Et voluptas est. Voluptas autem non illa levis et fugax et subinde reficienda, sed stabilis et certa. Non enim iucunda res est aqua et polenta aut frustum hordeacei panis, sed summa

[1] *dat et* Schweighäuser; *debet* MSS.
[2] *se* added by Muretus.

[a] The post which gladiators used when preparing themselves for combats in the arena.

[b] Usually identified with Chaerimus, 308-7 B.C. But Wilhelm, *Öster. Jahreshefte*, V. 136, has shown that there is probably no confusion of names. A Charinus was archon at Athens in 290-89; see Johnson, *Class. Phil.* ix. p. 256.

you, my dear Lucilius, you will leap for joy when filled with a pennyworth of food, and you will understand that a man's peace of mind does not depend upon Fortune; for, even when angry she grants enough for our needs.

There is no reason, however, why you should think that you are doing anything great; for you will merely be doing what many thousands of slaves and many thousands of poor men are doing every day. But you may credit yourself with this item,—that you will not be doing it under compulsion, and that it will be as easy for you to endure it permanently as to make the experiment from time to time. Let us practise our strokes on the "dummy"[a]; let us become intimate with poverty, so that Fortune may not catch us off our guard. We shall be rich with all the more comfort, if we once learn how far poverty is from being a burden.

Even Epicurus, the teacher of pleasure, used to observe stated intervals, during which he satisfied his hunger in niggardly fashion; he wished to see whether he thereby fell short of full and complete happiness, and, if so, by what amount he fell short, and whether this amount was worth purchasing at the price of great effort. At any rate, he makes such a statement in the well known letter written to Polyaenus in the archonship of Charinus.[b] Indeed, he boasts that he himself lived on less than a penny, but that Metrodorus, whose progress was not yet so great, needed a whole penny. Do you think that there can be fulness on such fare? Yes, and there is pleasure also,—not that shifty and fleeting pleasure which needs a fillip now and then, but a pleasure that is steadfast and sure. For though water, barley-meal, and crusts of barley-bread, are

voluptas est posse capere etiam ex his voluptatem et
ad id se deduxisse, quod eripere nulla fortunae
11 iniquitas possit. Liberaliora[1] alimenta sunt carceris,
sepositos ad capitale supplicium non tam anguste, qui
occisurus est, pascit. Quanta est animi magnitudo
ad id sua sponte descendere, quod ne ad extrema
quidem decretis timendum sit! Hoc est praeoccupare
tela fortunae.

12 Incipe ergo, mi Lucili, sequi horum consuetudinem
et aliquos dies destina, quibus secedas a tuis rebus
minimoque te facias familiarem; incipe cum paupertate habere commercium.

> Aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
> Finge deo.

13 Nemo alius est deo dignus quam qui opes con-
tempsit. Quarum possessionem tibi non interdico,
sed efficere volo, ut illas intrepide possideas; quod
uno consequeris modo, si te etiam sine illis beate
victurum persuaseris tibi, si illas tamquam exituras
semper aspexeris.

14 Sed iam incipiamus epistulam conplicare. "Prius,"
inquis, "redde quod debes." Delegabo te ad Epicurum; ab illo fiet numeratio: "Inmodica ira gignit
insaniam." Hoc quam verum sit, necesse est scias,
15 cum habueris et servum et inimicum. In omnes
personas hic exardescit affectus; tam ex amore

[1] *liberaliora* Muretus; *liberiora* MSS.; *uberiora* Buecheler.

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[a] Vergil, *Aeneid*, viii. 364 f.
[b] Frag. 484 Usener.

not a cheerful diet, yet it is the highest kind of pleasure to be able to derive pleasure from this sort of food, and to have reduced one's needs to that modicum which no unfairness of Fortune can snatch away. Even prison fare is more generous; and those who have been set apart for capital punishment are not so meanly fed by the man who is to execute them. Therefore, what a noble soul must one have, to descend of one's own free will to a diet which even those who have been sentenced to death have not to fear! This is indeed forestalling the spear-thrusts of Fortune.

So begin, my dear Lucilius, to follow the custom of these men, and set apart certain days on which you shall withdraw from your business and make yourself at home with the scantiest fare. Establish business relations with poverty.

> Dare, O my friend, to scorn the sight of wealth,
> And mould thyself to kinship with thy God.[a]

For he alone is in kinship with God who has scorned wealth. Of course I do not forbid you to possess it, but I would have you reach the point at which you possess it dauntlessly; this can be accomplished only by persuading yourself that you can live happily without it as well as with it, and by regarding riches always as likely to elude you.

But now I must begin to fold up my letter. "Settle your debts first," you cry. Here is a draft on Epicurus; he will pay down the sum: "Ungoverned anger begets madness."[b] You cannot help knowing the truth of these words, since you have had not only slaves, but also enemies. But indeed this emotion blazes out against all sorts of persons; it springs from love as much as from hate, and shows

nascitur quam ex odio, non minus inter seria quam inter lusus et iocos. Nec interest, ex quam magna causa nascatur, sed in qualem perveniat animum. Sic ignis non refert quam magnus, sed quo incidat. Nam etiam maximum solida non receperunt; rursus arida et corripi facilia scintillam quoque fovent usque in incendium. Ita est, mi Lucili, ingentis irae exitus furor est, et ideo ira vitanda est non moderationis causa, sed sanitatis. VALE.

XIX.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Exulto, quotiens epistulas tuas accipio. Inplent enim me bona spe et iam non promittunt de te, sed spondent. Ita fac, oro atque obsecro. Quid enim habeo melius, quod amicum rogem, quam quod pro ipso rogaturus sum? Si potes, subduc te istis occupationibus; si minus, eripe. Satis multum temporis sparsimus; incipiamus vasa in senectute colligere.
2 Numquid invidiosum est? In freto viximus, moriamur in portu. Neque ego suaserim tibi nomen ex otio petere, quod nec iactare debes nec abscondere. Numquam enim usque eo te abigam generis humani furore damnato, ut latebram tibi aliquam parari et oblivionem[1] velim; id age, ut otium tuum non emineat,

[1] *et oblivionem* Lb; *oblivione* p and Hense; *oblivionem* P.

itself not less in serious matters than in jest and sport. And it makes no difference how important the provocation may be, but into what kind of soul it penetrates. Similarly with fire; it does not matter how great is the flame, but what it falls upon. For solid timbers have repelled a very great fire; conversely, dry and easily inflammable stuff nourishes the slightest spark into a conflagration. So it is with anger, my dear Lucilius; the outcome of a mighty anger is madness, and hence anger should be avoided, not merely that we may escape excess, but that we may have a healthy mind. Farewell.

XIX. ON WORLDLINESS AND RETIREMENT

I leap for joy whenever I receive letters from you. For they fill me with hope; they are now not mere assurances concerning you, but guarantees. And I beg and pray you to proceed in this course; for what better request could I make of a friend than one which is to be made for his own sake? If possible, withdraw yourself from all the business of which you speak; and if you cannot do this, tear yourself away. We have dissipated enough of our time already; let us in old age begin to pack up our baggage. Surely there is nothing in this that men can begrudge us. We have spent our lives on the high seas; let us die in harbour. Not that I would advise you to try to win fame by your retirement; one's retirement should neither be paraded nor concealed. Not concealed, I say, for I shall not go so far in urging you as to expect you to condemn all men as mad and then seek out for yourself a hiding-place and oblivion; rather make this your business, that your

3 sed appareat. Deinde videbunt de isto, quibus in-
tegra sunt et prima consilia, an velint vitam per
obscurum transmittere; tibi liberum non est. In
medium te protulit ingenii vigor, scriptorum elegantia,
clarae et nobiles amicitiae. Iam notitia te invasit.
Ut in extrema mergaris ac penitus recondaris, tamen
4 priora monstrabunt. Tenebras habere non potes;
sequetur, quocumque fugeris, multum pristinae lucis.

Quietem potes vindicare sine ullius odio, sine
desiderio aut morsu animi tui. Quid enim relinques,
quod invitus relictum a te possis cogitare? Clientes?
Quorum nemo te ipsum sequitur, sed aliquid ex te.
Amicitia olim petebatur, nunc praeda; mutabunt
testamenta destituti senes, migrabit ad aliud limen
salutator. Non potest parvo res magna constare;
aestima, utrum te relinquere an aliquid ex tuis malis.
5 Utinam quidem tibi senescere contigisset intra
natalium tuorum modum, nec te in altum fortuna
misisset! Tulit te longe a conspectu vitae salubris
rapida felicitas, provincia et procuratio, et quicquid
ab istis promittitur; maiora deinde officia te excipient
6 et ex aliis alia. Quis exitus erit? Quid expectas,

[a] See the Introduction, p. ix.

retirement be not conspicuous, though it should be obvious. In the second place, while those whose choice is unhampered from the start will deliberate on that other question, whether they wish to pass their lives in obscurity, in your case there is not a free choice. Your ability and energy have thrust you into the work of the world; so have the charm of your writings and the friendships you have made with famous and notable men. Renown has already taken you by storm. You may sink yourself into the depths of obscurity and utterly hide yourself; yet your earlier acts will reveal you. You cannot keep lurking in the dark; much of the old gleam will follow you wherever you fly.

Peace you can claim for yourself without being disliked by anyone, without any sense of loss, and without any pangs of spirit. For what will you leave behind you that you can imagine yourself reluctant to leave? Your clients? But none of these men courts you for yourself; they merely court something from you. People used to hunt friends, but now they hunt pelf; if a lonely old man changes his will, the morning-caller transfers himself to another door. Great things cannot be bought for small sums; so reckon up whether it is preferable to leave your own true self, or merely some of your belongings. Would that you had had the privilege of growing old amid the limited circumstances of your origin, and that fortune had not raised you to such heights! You were removed far from the sight of wholesome living by your swift rise to prosperity, by your province, by your position as procurator,[a] and by all that such things promise; you will next acquire more important duties and after them still more. And what will be the result? Why wait until there is nothing left for

donec desinas habere, quod cupias? Numquam erit id tempus.[1] Qualem dicimus seriem esse causarum, ex quibus nectitur fatum, talem esse[2] cupiditatum; altera ex fine alterius nascitur. In eam demissus es vitam, quae numquam tibi terminum miseriarum ac servitutis ipsa factura sit. Subduc cervicem iugo tritam; semel illam incidi quam semper premi satius
7 est. Si te ad privata rettuleris, minora erunt omnia, sed affatim implebunt; at nunc plurima et undique ingesta non satiant. Utrum autem mavis ex inopia saturitatem an in copia famem? et avida felicitas est et alienae aviditati exposita. Quamdiu tibi satis nihil fuerit, ipse aliis non eris.

8 "Quomodo," inquis, "exibo?" Utcumque. Cogita, quam multa temere pro pecunia, quam multa laboriose pro honore temptaveris; aliquid et pro otio audendum est, aut in ista sollicitudine procurationum et deinde urbanorum officiorum senescendum in tumultu ac semper novis fluctibus, quos effugere nulla modestia, nulla vitae quiete contigit. Quid enim ad rem pertinet, an tu quiescere velis? Fortuna tua non vult. Quid si illi etiam nunc permiseris crescere? Quantum ad successus accesserit, accedet ad metus.
9 Volo tibi hoc loco referre dictum Maecenatis vera in

[1] *erit id tempus* Buecheler; *erit tempus* MSS.
[2] Madvig would insert *scias* or *puta*.

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[a] The *procurator* did the work of a quaestor in an imperial province. Positions at Rome to which Lucilius might succeed were such as *praefectus annonae*, in charge of the grain supply, or *praefectus urbi*, Director of Public Safety, and others.

you to crave? That time will never come. We hold that there is a succession of causes, from which fate is woven; similarly, you may be sure, there is a succession in our desires; for one begins where its predecessor ends. You have been thrust into an existence which will never of itself put an end to your wretchedness and your slavery. Withdraw your chafed neck from the yoke; it is better that it should be cut off once for all, than galled for ever. If you retreat to privacy, everything will be on a smaller scale, but you will be satisfied abundantly; in your present condition, however, there is no satisfaction in the plenty which is heaped upon you on all sides. Would you rather be poor and sated, or rich and hungry? Prosperity is not only greedy, but it also lies exposed to the greed of others. And as long as nothing satisfies you, you yourself cannot satisfy others.

"But," you say, "how can I take my leave?" Any way you please. Reflect how many hazards you have ventured for the sake of money, and how much toil you have undertaken for a title! You must dare something to gain leisure, also,—or else grow old amid the worries of procuratorships [a] abroad and subsequently of civil duties at home, living in turmoil and in ever fresh floods of responsibilities, which no man has ever succeeded in avoiding by unobtrusiveness or by seclusion of life. For what bearing on the case has your personal desire for a secluded life? Your position in the world desires the opposite! What if, even now, you allow that position to grow greater? But all that is added to your successes will be added to your fears. At this point I should like to quote a saying of Maecenas, who spoke the truth when he stood on the very

ipso culmine[1] elocuti: "Ipsa enim altitudo attonat summa." Si quaeris, in quo libro dixerit; in eo, qui Prometheus inscribitur. Hoc voluit dicere, attonita habet summa. Est ergo tanti ulla potentia, ut sit tibi tam ebrius sermo? Ingeniosus ille vir fuit, magnum exemplum Romanae eloquentiae daturus, nisi illum enervasset felicitas, immo castrasset. Hic te exitus manet, nisi iam contrahes vela, nisi, quod ille sero voluit, terram leges.

10 Poteram tecum hac Maecenatis sententia parem facere rationem. Sed movebis mihi controversiam, si novi te, nec voles quod debeo in aspero et inprobo accipere. Ut se res habet, ab Epicuro versura facienda est. "Ante," inquit, "circumspiciendum est, cum quibus edas et bibas, quam quid edas e bibas. Nam sine amico visceratio leonis ac lupi vita
11 est." Hoc non continget tibi, nisi secesseris; alioqui habebis convivas, quos ex turba salutantium nomenclator digesserit. Errat autem, qui amicum in atrio quaerit, in convivio probat. Nullum habet maius malum occupatus homo et bonis suis obsessus, quam quod amicos sibi putat, quibus ipse non est, quod beneficia sua efficacia iudicat ad conciliandos amicos,

[1] *in ipso culmine* Capps; *in ipso eculeo* MSS.

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[a] And therefore could speak with authority on this point.

[b] Perhaps a tragedy, although Seneca uses the word *liber* to describe it. Maecenas wrote a *Symposium*, a work *De cultu suo*, *Octavia*, some stray verse, and perhaps some history. See Seneca, *Epp.* xcii. and ci.

[c] Seneca whimsically pretends to assume that eccentric literary style and high political position go hand in hand. See also the following sentence.

[d] Epicurus, Frag. 542 Usener.

[e] A slave kept by every prominent Roman to identify the master's friends and dependants.

summit:[a] "There's thunder even on the loftiest peaks." If you ask me in what book these words are found, they occur in the volume entitled *Prometheus*.[b] He simply meant to say that these lofty peaks have their tops surrounded with thunder-storms. But is any power worth so high a price that a man like you would ever, in order to obtain it, adopt a style so debauched as that?[c] Maecenas was indeed a man of parts, who would have left a great pattern for Roman oratory to follow, had his good fortune not made him effeminate,—nay, had it not emasculated him! An end like his awaits you also, unless you forthwith shorten sail and,—as Maecenas was not willing to do until it was too late,—hug the shore!

This saying of Maecenas's might have squared my account with you; but I feel sure, knowing you, that you will get out an injunction against me, and that you will be unwilling to accept payment of my debt in such crude and debased currency. However that may be, I shall draw on the account of Epicurus.[d] He says: "You must reflect carefully beforehand with whom you are to eat and drink, rather than what you are to eat and drink. For a dinner of meats without the company of a friend is like the life of a lion or a wolf." This privilege will not be yours unless you withdraw from the world; otherwise, you will have as guests only those whom your slave-secretary[e] sorts out from the throng of callers. It is, however, a mistake to select your friend in the reception-hall or to test him at the dinner-table. The most serious misfortune for a busy man who is overwhelmed by his possessions is, that he believes men to be his friends when he himself is not a friend to them, and that he deems his favours to be effective in winning friends, although, in the

cum quidam, quo plus debent, magis oderint. Leve
12 aes alienum debitorem facit, grave inimicum. "Quid ergo? Beneficia non parant amicitias?" Parant, si accepturos licuit eligere, si conlocata, non sparsa sunt.

Itaque dum incipis esse mentis tuae, interim hoc consilio sapientium utere, ut magis ad rem existimes pertinere, quis, quam quid acceperit. VALE.

XX.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Si vales et te dignum putas, qui aliquando fias tuus, gaudeo. Mea enim gloria erit, si te istinc, ubi sine spe exeundi fluctuaris, extraxero. Illud autem te, mi Lucili, rogo atque hortor, ut philosophiam in praecordia ima demittas et experimentum profectus tui capias non oratione nec scripto, sed animi firmitate, cupiditatum deminutione; verba rebus proba.

2 Aliud propositum est declamantibus et adsensionem coronae captantibus, aliud his, qui iuvenum et otiosorum aures disputatione varia aut volubili detinent; facere docet philosophia, non dicere, et hoc exigit, ut ad legem suam quisque vivat, ne orationi vita dissentiat, ut ipsa intra se vita unius sit omnium actionum sine dissensione coloris.[1] Maximum hoc est et officium sapientiae et indicium, ut

[1] *intra . . . coloris* Haupt; *inter se vita . . . his sit omnium actio dissertionum color sit* p, *unus* or *una* L³ Pb, *coloris* later MSS.

case of certain men, the more they owe, the more they hate. A trifling debt makes a man your debtor; a large one makes him an enemy. "What," you say, "do not kindnesses establish friendships?" They do, if one has had the privilege of choosing those who are to receive them, and if they are placed judiciously, instead of being scattered broadcast.

Therefore, while you are beginning to call your mind your own, meantime apply this maxim of the wise: consider that it is more important who receives a thing, than what it is he receives. Farewell.

XX. ON PRACTISING WHAT YOU PREACH

If you are in good health and if you think yourself worthy of becoming at last your own master, I am glad. For the credit will be mine, if I can drag you from the floods in which you are being buffeted without hope of emerging. This, however, my dear Lucilius, I ask and beg of you, on your part, that you let wisdom sink into your soul, and test your progress, not by mere speech or writings, but by stoutness of heart and decrease of desire. Prove your words by your deeds.

Far different is the purpose of those who are speech-making and trying to win the approbation of a throng of hearers, far different that of those who allure the ears of young men and idlers by many-sided or fluent argumentation; philosophy teaches us to act, not to speak; it exacts of every man that he should live according to his own standards, that his life should not be out of harmony with his words, and that, further, his inner life should be of one hue and not out of harmony with all his activities. This, I say, is the highest duty and the highest proof of

verbis opera concordent, ut ipse ubique par sibi idemque sit.

"Quis hoc praestabit?" Pauci, aliqui tamen. Est enim difficile hoc; nec hoc dico, sapientem uno
3 semper iturum gradu, sed una via. Observa te[1] itaque, numquid vestis tua domusque dissentiant, numquid in te liberalis sis, in tuos sordidus, numquid cenes frugaliter, aedifices luxuriose. Unam semel ad quam vivas regulam prende et ad hanc omnem vitam tuam exaequa. Quidam se domi contrahunt, dilatant foris et extendunt; vitium est haec diversitas et signum vacillantis animi ac nondum habentis te-
4 norem suum. Etiamnunc dicam, unde sit ista inconstantia et dissimilitudo rerum consiliorumque: nemo proponit sibi, quid velit, nec si proposuit, perseverat in eo, sed transilit; nec tantum mutat, sed redit et
5 in ea, quae deseruit ac damnavit, revolvitur. Itaque ut relinquam definitiones sapientiae veteres et totum conplectar humanae vitae modum, hoc possum contentus esse: Quid est sapientia? Semper idem velle atque idem nolle. Licet illam exceptiunculam non adicias, ut rectum sit, quod velis; non potest enim cuiquam idem semper placere nisi rectum.

6 Nesciunt ergo homines, quid velint, nisi illo momento, quo volunt; in totum nulli velle aut

[1] *observa te* Hense; *observare* MSS.

[a] Seneca applies to wisdom the definition of friendship, Sallust, *Catiline*, 20. 4 *idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est.*

wisdom,—that deed and word should be in accord, that a man should be equal to himself under all conditions, and always the same.

"But," you reply, "who can maintain this standard?" Very few, to be sure; but there are some. It is indeed a hard undertaking, and I do not say that the philosopher can always keep the same pace. But he can always travel the same path. Observe yourself, then, and see whether your dress and your house are inconsistent, whether you treat yourself lavishly and your family meanly, whether you eat frugal dinners and yet build luxurious houses. You should lay hold, once for all, upon a single norm to live by, and should regulate your whole life according to this norm. Some men restrict themselves at home, but strut with swelling port before the public; such discordance is a fault, and it indicates a wavering mind which cannot yet keep its balance. And I can tell you, further, whence arise this unsteadiness and disagreement of action and purpose; it is because no man resolves upon what he wishes, and, even if he has done so, he does not persist in it, but jumps the track; not only does he change, but he returns and slips back to the conduct which he has abandoned and abjured. Therefore, to omit the ancient definitions of wisdom and to include the whole manner of human life, I can be satisfied with the following: "What is wisdom? Always desiring the same things, and always refusing the same things." [a] You may be excused from adding the little proviso, —that what you wish, should be right; since no man can always be satisfied with the same thing, unless it is right.

For this reason men do not know what they wish, except at the actual moment of wishing; no man

nolle decretum est. Variatur cotidie iudicium et in contrarium vertitur ac plerisque agitur vita per lusum. Preme ergo quod coepisti, et fortasse perduceris aut ad summum aut eo, quod summum nondum esse solus intellegas.

7 "Quid fiet," inquis, "huic turbae familiarium sine[1] re familiari?" Turba ista cum a te pasci desierit, ipsa se pascet, aut quod tu beneficio tuo non potes scire, paupertatis scies. Illa veros certosque amicos retinebit; discedet quisquis non te, sed aliud sequebatur. Non est autem vel ob hoc unum amanda paupertas, quod a quibus ameris ostendet? O quando ille veniet dies, quo nemo in honorem tuum men-
8 tiatur! Huc ergo cogitationes tuae tendant, hoc cura, hoc opta, omnia alia vota deo remissurus, ut contentus sis temet ipso et ex te nascentibus bonis. Quae potest esse felicitas propior? Redige te ad parva, ex quibus cadere non possis, idque ut libentius facias, ad hoc pertinebit tributum huius epistulae, quod statim conferam.

9 Invideas licet, etiam nunc libenter pro me dependet Epicurus. "Magnificentior, mihi crede, sermo tuus in grabato videbitur et in panno. Non enim dicentur tantum illa, sed probabuntur." Ego certe

[1] *sine* Hense; *sive* MSS.

[a] Frag. 206 Usener.

ever decided once and for all to desire or to refuse. Judgment varies from day to day, and changes to the opposite, making many a man pass his life in a kind of game. Press on, therefore, as you have begun; perhaps you will be led to perfection, or to a point which you alone understand is still short of perfection.

"But what," you say, "will become of my crowded household without a household income?" If you stop supporting that crowd, it will support itself; or perhaps you will learn by the bounty of poverty what you cannot learn by your own bounty. Poverty will keep for you your true and tried friends; you will be rid of the men who were not seeking you for yourself, but for something which you have. Is it not true, however, that you should love poverty, if only for this single reason,—that it will show you those by whom you are loved? O when will that time come, when no one shall tell lies to compliment you! Accordingly, let your thoughts, your efforts, your desires, help to make you content with your own self and with the goods that spring from yourself; and commit all your other prayers to God's keeping! What happiness could come closer home to you? Bring yourself down to humble conditions, from which you cannot be ejected; and in order that you may do so with greater alacrity, the contribution contained in this letter shall refer to that subject; I shall bestow it upon you forthwith.

Although you may look askance, Epicurus[a] will once again be glad to settle my indebtedness: "Believe me, your words will be more imposing if you sleep on a cot and wear rags. For in that case you will not be merely saying them; you will be demonstrating their truth." I, at any rate, listen in

aliter audio, quae dicit Demetrius noster, cum illum
vidi nudum, quanto minus quam[1] stramentis, incu-
10 bantem; non praeceptor veri, sed testis est. "Quid
ergo? Non licet divitias in sinu positas contem-
nere?" Quidni liceat? Et ille ingentis animi est,
qui illas circumfusas sibi, multum diuque miratus,
quod ad se venerint, ridet suasque audit magis esse
quam sentit. Multum est non corrumpi divitiarum
contubernio; magnus ille, qui in divitiis pauper est.
11 "Nescio," inquis, "quomodo paupertatem iste laturus
sit, si in illam inciderit." Nec ego, Epicure, an
tuus[2] iste pauper contempturus sit divitias, si in illas
inciderit; itaque in utroque mens aestimanda est
inspiciendumque, an ille paupertati indulgeat, an
hic divitiis non indulgeat. Alioquin leve argu-
mentum est bonae voluntatis grabatus aut pannus,
nisi apparuit aliquem illa non necessitate pati, sed
malle.

12 Ceterum magnae indolis est ad ista non properare
tamquam meliora, sed praeparari tamquam ad facilia.
Et sunt, Lucili, facilia; cum vero multo ante medi-
tatus accesseris, iucunda quoque; inest enim illis,
13 sine qua nihil est iucundum, securitas. Necessarium
ergo iudico, id quod tibi scripsi magnos viros saepe

[1] *quam in* MSS.; *in* del. Haupt.
[2] *an tuus* P. Thomas; *angulus si* pL.

[a] *i.e.*, the life of voluntary poverty.

a different spirit to the utterances of our friend Demetrius, after I have seen him reclining without even a cloak to cover him, and, more than this, without rugs to lie upon. He is not only a teacher of the truth, but a witness to the truth. "May not a man, however, despise wealth when it lies in his very pocket?" Of course; he also is great-souled, who sees riches heaped up round him and, after wondering long and deeply because they have come into his possession, smiles, and hears rather than feels that they are his. It means much not to be spoiled by intimacy with riches; and he is truly great who is poor amidst riches. "Yes, but I do not know," you say, "how the man you speak of will endure poverty, if he falls into it suddenly." Nor do I, Epicurus, know whether the poor man you speak of will despise riches, should he suddenly fall into them; accordingly, in the case of both, it is the mind that must be appraised, and we must investigate whether your man is pleased with his poverty, and whether my man is displeased with his riches. Otherwise, the cot-bed and the rags are slight proof of his good intentions, if it has not been made clear that the person concerned endures these trials not from necessity but from preference.

It is the mark, however, of a noble spirit not to precipitate oneself into such things [a] on the ground that they are better, but to practise for them on the ground that they are thus easy to endure. And they are easy to endure, Lucilius; when, however, you come to them after long rehearsal, they are even pleasant; for they contain a sense of freedom from care,—and without this nothing is pleasant. I hold it essential, therefore, to do as I have told you in a letter that great men have often done: to reserve a

fecisse: aliquos dies interponere, quibus nos imaginaria paupertate exerceamus ad veram. Quod eo magis faciendum est, quod deliciis permaduimus et omnia dura ac difficilia iudicamus. Potius excitandus e somno et vellicandus est animus admonendusque naturam nobis minimum constituisse. Nemo nascitur dives. Quisquis exit in lucem, iussus est lacte et panno esse contentus; ab his initiis nos regna non capiunt. VALE.

XXI.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Cum istis tibi esse negotium iudicas, de quibus scripseras? Maximum negotium tecum habes; tu tibi molestus es. Quid velis nescis; melius probas honesta quam sequeris; vides, ubi sit posita felicitas, sed ad illam pervenire non audes. Quid sit autem, quod te inpediat, quia parum ipse dispicis, dicam.

Magna esse haec existimas, quae relicturus es, et cum proposuisti tibi illam securitatem, ad quam transiturus es, retinet te huius vitae, a qua recessurus es, fulgor tamquam in sordida et obscura casurum.
2 Erras, Lucili; ex hac vita ad illam adscenditur. Quod interest inter splendorem et lucem, cum haec

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[a] Adapted from the epigram on Alexander the Great, "hic est quem non capit orbis." See Plutarch, *Alexander*, § 6 ὦ παῖ, ζήτει σεαυτῷ βασιλείαν ἴσην· Μακεδονία γάρ σε οὐ χωρεῖ, and Seneca, *Ep.* cxix. 8.

few days in which we may prepare ourselves for real poverty by means of fancied poverty. There is all the more reason for doing this, because we have been steeped in luxury and regard all duties as hard and onerous. Rather let the soul be roused from its sleep and be prodded, and let it be reminded that nature has prescribed very little for us. No man is born rich. Every man, when he first sees light, is commanded to be content with milk and rags. Such is our beginning, and yet kingdoms are all too small for us![a] Farewell.

XXI. ON THE RENOWN WHICH MY WRITINGS WILL BRING YOU

Do you conclude that you are having difficulties with those men about whom you wrote to me? Your greatest difficulty is with yourself; for you are your own stumbling-block. You do not know what you want. You are better at approving the right course than at following it out. You see where the true happiness lies, but you have not the courage to attain it. Let me tell you what it is that hinders you, inasmuch as you do not of yourself discern it.

You think that this condition, which you are to abandon, is one of importance, and after resolving upon that ideal state of calm into which you hope to pass, you are held back by the lustre of your present life, from which it is your intention to depart, just as if you were about to fall into a state of filth and darkness. This is a mistake, Lucilius; to go from your present life into the other is a promotion. There is the same difference between

certam originem habeat ac suam ille niteat alieno, hoc inter hanc vitam et illam ; haec fulgore extrinsecus veniente percussa est, crassam illi statim umbram faciet quisquis obstiterit ; illa suo lumine inlustris est.

Studia te tua clarum et nobilem efficient. Exem-
3 plum Epicuri referam. Cum Idomeneo scriberet
et illum a vita speciosa ad fidelem stabilemque
gloriam revocaret, rigidae[1] tunc potentiae ministrum
et magna tractantem : "Si gloria," inquit, "tangeris,
notiorem te epistulae meae facient quam omnia ista,
4 quae colis et propter quae coleris." Numquid ergo
mentitus est ? Quis Idomenea nosset, nisi Epicurus
illum litteris suis incidisset ? Omnes illos megistanas
et satrapas et regem ipsum, ex quo Idomenei titulus
petebatur, oblivio alta suppressit. Nomen Attici
perire Ciceronis epistulae non sinunt. Nihil illi
profuisset gener Agrippa et Tiberius progener et
Drusus Caesar pronepos ; inter tam magna nomina
5 taceretur, nisi sibi[2] Cicero illum adplicuisset. Pro-
funda super nos altitudo temporis veniet, pauca
ingenia caput exerent et in idem quandoque silentium
abitura oblivioni resistent ac se diu vindicabunt.

[1] For *rigidae* Lipsius proposed *regiae*, "like that of a king." This may be the correct reading.
[2] *sibi* inserted by Gertz.

[a] Epicurus, Frag. 132 Usener.
[b] *i.e.*, Cicero's letters did more to preserve the name of Atticus than such a connexion with the imperial house would have done.

these two lives as there is between mere brightness and real light; the latter has a definite source within itself, the other borrows its radiance; the one is called forth by an illumination coming from the outside, and anyone who stands between the source and the object immediately turns the latter into a dense shadow; but the other has a glow that comes from within.

It is your own studies that will make you shine and will render you eminent. Allow me to mention the case of Epicurus. He was writing[a] to Idomeneus and trying to recall him from a showy existence to sure and steadfast renown. Idomeneus was at that time a minister of state who exercised a rigorous authority and had important affairs in hand. "If," said Epicurus, "you are attracted by fame, my letters will make you more renowned than all the things which you cherish and which make you cherished." Did Epicurus speak falsely? Who would have known of Idomeneus, had not the philosopher thus engraved his name in those letters of his? All the grandees and satraps, even the king himself, who was petitioned for the title which Idomeneus sought, are sunk in deep oblivion. Cicero's letters keep the name of Atticus from perishing. It would have profited Atticus nothing to have an Agrippa for a son-in-law, a Tiberius for the husband of his grand-daughter, and a Drusus Caesar for a great-grandson; amid these mighty names his name would never be spoken, had not Cicero bound him to himself.[b] The deep flood of time will roll over us; some few great men will raise their heads above it, and, though destined at the last to depart into the same realms of silence, will battle against oblivion and maintain their ground for long.

Quod Epicurus amico suo potuit promittere, hoc tibi promitto, Lucili. Habebo apud posteros gratiam, possum mecum duratura nomina educere. Vergilius noster duobus memoriam aeternam promisit et praestat:

> Fortunati ambo! Siquid mea carmina possunt,
> Nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo,
> Dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum
> Accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.

6 Quoscumque in medium fortuna protulit, quicumque membra ac partes alienae potentiae fuerunt, horum gratia viguit, domus frequentata est, dum ipsi steterunt; post ipsos cito memoria defecit. Ingeniorum crescit dignatio nec ipsis tantum honor habetur, sed quicquid illorum memoriae adhaesit, excipitur.

7 Ne gratis Idomeneus in epistulam meam venerit, ipse eam de suo redimet. Ad hunc Epicurus illam nobilem sententiam scripsit, qua hortatur, ut Pythoclea locupletem non publica nec ancipiti via faciat. "Si vis," inquit, "Pythoclea divitem facere, non pecuniae adiciendum, sed cupiditati detrahendum
8 est." Et apertior ista sententia est quam ut interpretanda sit, et disertior quam ut adiuvanda. Hoc unum te admoneo, ne istud tantum existimes de divitiis dictum; quocumque transtuleris, idem poterit.

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[a] *Aeneid*, ix. 446 ff.

[b] As in the case of Epicurus and Idomeneus, Cicero and Atticus, Vergil and Euryalus and Nisus, and Seneca and Lucilius!

[c] Frag. 135 Usener.

That which Epicurus could promise his friend, this I promise you, Lucilius. I shall find favour among later generations; I can take with me names that will endure as long as mine. Our poet Vergil promised an eternal name to two heroes, and is keeping his promise:[a]

> Blest heroes twain! If power my song possess,
> The record of your names shall never be
> Erased from out the book of Time, while yet
> Aeneas' tribe shall keep the Capitol,
> That rock immovable, and Roman sire
> Shall empire hold.

Whenever men have been thrust forward by fortune, whenever they have become part and parcel of another's influence, they have found abundant favour, their houses have been thronged, only so long as they themselves have kept their position; when they themselves have left it, they have slipped at once from the memory of men. But in the case of innate ability, the respect in which it is held increases, and not only does honour accrue to the man himself, but whatever has attached itself to his memory is passed on from one to another.[b]

In order that Idomeneus may not be introduced free of charge into my letter, he shall make up the indebtedness from his own account. It was to him that Epicurus addressed the well-known saying,[c] urging him to make Pythocles rich, but not rich in the vulgar and equivocal way. "If you wish," said he, "to make Pythocles rich, do not add to his store of money, but subtract from his desires." This idea is too clear to need explanation, and too clever to need reinforcement. There is, however, one point on which I would warn you,—not to consider that this statement applies only to riches; its value will

Si vis Pythoclea honestum facere, non honoribus adiciendum est, sed cupiditatibus detrahendum. Si vis Pythoclea esse in perpetua voluptate, non voluptatibus adiciendum est, sed cupiditatibus detrahendum; si vis Pythoclea senem facere et inplere vitam, non annis adiciendum est, sed cupiditatibus detrahendum.

9 Has voces non est quod Epicuri esse iudices; publicae sunt. Quod fieri in senatu solet, faciendum ego in philosophia quoque existimo: cum censuit aliquis, quod ex parte mihi placeat, iubeo illum dividere sententiam et sequor, quod probo. Eo[1] libentius Epicuri egregia dicta commemoro, ut istis,[2] qui ad illum[3] confugiunt spe mala inducti, qui velamentum ipsos vitiorum suorum habituros existimant, probem[4] quocumque ierint honeste esse vivendum.

10 Cum adieris[5] eius hortulos et inscriptum hortulis legeris[6]

> Hospes, hic bene manebis, hic summum bonum voluptas est,

paratus erit istius domicilii custos hospitalis, humanus, et te polenta excipiet et aquam quoque large ministrabit et dicet: "Ecquid bene acceptus es?" "Non inritant," inquit, "hi hortuli famem, sed extinguunt. Nec maiorem ipsis potionibus sitim faciunt, sed naturali et gratuito remedio sedant. In hac voluptate consenui."

11 De his tecum desideriis loquor, quae consolationem non recipiunt, quibus dandum est aliquid, ut desinant.

[1] *quod probo eo* Haupt and Madvig; *pro eo* or *probeo* MSS.
[2] *istis* Muretus; *isti* MSS.
[3] *illum* Haupt; *illam* or *illa* MSS.
[4] *probem* Muretus; *probent* MSS.
[5] *adieris* Schweighäuser; *aud (ad) ierithis* p; *audierit his* L; *adieretis audierit his* Pb.
[6] *legeris* added by Buecheler; *inscriptum hortulis* pL; *inscriptum portae videris* Wilamowitz.

be the same, no matter how you apply it. "If you wish to make Pythocles honourable, do not add to his honours, but subtract from his desires"; "if you wish Pythocles to have pleasure for ever, do not add to his pleasures, but subtract from his desires"; "if you wish to make Pythocles an old man, filling his life to the full, do not add to his years, but subtract from his desires." There is no reason why you should hold that these words belong to Epicurus alone; they are public property. I think we ought to do in philosophy as they are wont to do in the Senate: when someone has made a motion, of which I approve to a certain extent, I ask him to make his motion in two parts, and I vote for the part which I approve. So I am all the more glad to repeat the distinguished words of Epicurus, in order that I may prove to those who have recourse to him through a bad motive, thinking that they will have in him a screen for their own vices, that they must live honourably, no matter what school they follow.

Go to his Garden and read the motto carved there: "Stranger, here you will do well to tarry; here our highest good is pleasure." The care-taker of that abode, a kindly host, will be ready for you; he will welcome you with barley-meal and serve you water also in abundance, with these words: "Have you not been well entertained?" "This garden," he says, "does not whet your appetite; it quenches it. Nor does it make you more thirsty with every drink; it slakes the thirst by a natural cure, —a cure that demands no fee. This is the 'pleasure' in which I have grown old."

In speaking with you, however, I refer to those desires which refuse alleviation, which must be

Nam de illis extraordinariis, quae licet differre, licet castigare et opprimere, hoc unum commonefaciam: ista voluptas naturalis est, non necessaria; huic nihil debes; si quid inpendis, voluntarium est. Venter praecepta non audit; poscit, appellat. Non est tamen molestus creditor; parvo dimittitur, si modo das illi, quod debes, non quod potes. VALE.

XXII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Iam intellegis educendum esse te ex istis occupationibus speciosis et malis. Sed quo modo id consequi possis quaeris. Quaedam non nisi a praesente monstrantur. Non potest medicus per epistulas cibi aut balinei tempus eligere; vena tangenda est. Vetus proverbium est gladiatorem in harena capere consilium; aliquid adversarii vultus, aliquid manus mota, aliquid ipsa inclinatio corporis intuentem
2 monet. Quid fieri soleat, quid oporteat, in universum et mandari potest et scribi; tale consilium non tantum absentibus, etiam posteris datur. Illud alterum, quando fieri debeat aut quemadmodum, ex longinquo nemo suadebit, cum rebus ipsis delibe-

[a] The first question, "Shall I withdraw from the world?" has been answered, apparently by Lucilius himself. The second was, "How can I accomplish this?" Seneca pretends to answer it, although he feels that this should be done in personal conference rather than by writing.

bribed to cease. For in regard to the exceptional desires, which may be postponed, which may be chastened and checked, I have this one thought to share with you: a pleasure of that sort is according to our nature, but it is not according to our needs; one owes nothing to it; whatever is expended upon it is a free gift. The belly will not listen to advice; it makes demands, it importunes. And yet it is not a troublesome creditor; you can send it away at small cost, provided only that you give it what you owe, not merely all you are able to give. Farewell.

XXII. ON THE FUTILITY OF HALF-WAY MEASURES

You understand by this time that you must withdraw yourself from those showy and depraved pursuits; but you still wish to know how this may be accomplished. There are certain things which can be pointed out only by someone who is present. The physician cannot prescribe by letter the proper time for eating or bathing; he must feel the pulse. There is an old adage about gladiators,—that they plan their fight in the ring; as they intently watch, something in the adversary's glance, some movement of his hand, even some slight bending of his body, gives a warning. We can formulate general rules and commit them to writing, as to what is usually done, or ought to be done; such advice may be given, not only to our absent friends, but also to succeeding generations. In regard, however, to that second [a] question,—when or how your plan is to be carried out,—no one will advise at long range;

3 randum est. Non tantum praesentis, sed vigilantis est occasionem observare properantem. Itaque hanc circumspice, hanc si videris, prende et toto impetu, totis viribus id age, ut te istis officiis exuas.

Et quidem quam sententiam feram, adtende. Censeo aut ex ista vita tibi aut e vita exeundum. Sed idem illud existimo, leni eundum via, ut quod male inplicuisti, solvas potius quam abrumpas, dummodo si alia solvendi ratio non erit, vel abrumpas. Nemo tam timidus est, ut malit semper pendere quam semel
4 cadere. Interim, quod primum est, impedire te noli. Contentus esto negotiis, in quae descendisti, vel quod videri mavis, incidisti. Non est quod ad ulteriora nitaris; aut perdes excusationem et apparebit te non incidisse. Ista enim, quae dici solent, falsa sunt: "Non potui aliter. Quid, si nollem? Necesse erat." Nulli necesse est felicitatem cursu sequi; est aliquid, etiam si non repugnare, subsistere
5 nec instare fortunae ferenti. Numquid offenderis, si in consilium non venio tantum, sed advoco, et quidem prudentiores quam ipse sum, ad quos soleo

we must take counsel in the presence of the actual situation. You must be not only present in the body, but watchful in mind, if you would avail yourself of the fleeting opportunity. Accordingly, look about you for the opportunity; if you see it, grasp it, and with all your energy and with all your strength devote yourself to this task,—to rid yourself of those business duties.

Now listen carefully to the opinion which I shall offer; it is my opinion that you should withdraw either from that kind of existence, or else from existence altogether. But I likewise maintain that you should take a gentle path, that you may loosen rather than cut the knot which you have bungled so badly in tying,—provided that if there shall be no other way of loosening it, you may actually cut it. No man is so faint-hearted that he would rather hang in suspense for ever than drop once for all. Meanwhile,—and this is of first importance,—do not hamper yourself; be content with the business into which you have lowered yourself, or, as you prefer to have people think, have tumbled. There is no reason why you should be struggling on to something further; if you do, you will lose all grounds of excuse, and men will see that it was not a tumble. The usual explanation which men offer is wrong: "I was compelled to do it. Suppose it was against my will; I had to do it." But no one is compelled to pursue prosperity at top speed; it means something to call a halt,—even if one does not offer resistance,—instead of pressing eagerly after favouring fortune. Shall you then be put out with me, if I not only come to advise you, but also call in others to advise you, —wiser heads than my own, men before whom I am wont to lay any problem upon

deferre, si quid delibero? Epicuri epistulam ad hanc rem pertinentem lege, Idomeneo quae inscribitur,[1] quem rogat, ut quantum potest fugiat et properet, antequam aliqua vis maior interveniat et auferat
6 libertatem recedendi. Idem tamen subicit nihil esse temptandum, nisi cum apte poterit tempestiveque temptari. Sed cum illud tempus captatum diu venerit, exiliendum ait. Dormitare de fuga cogitantem vetat et sperat salutarem etiam ex difficillimis exitum, si nec properemus ante tempus nec cessemus in tempore.

7 Puto, nunc et Stoicam sententiam quaeris. Non est quod quisquam illos apud te temeritatis infamet; cautiores quam fortiores sunt. Expectas forsitan, ut tibi haec dicant: "Turpe est cedere oneri. Luctare cum officio, quod semel recepisti. Non est vir fortis ac strenuus qui laborem fugit, nisi crescit illi
8 animus ipsa rerum difficultate." Dicentur tibi ista, si operae pretium habebit perseverantia, si nihil indignum bono viro faciendum patiendumve erit; alioqui sordido se et contumelioso labore non conteret nec in negotiis erit negotii causa. Ne illud quidem, quod existimas facturum eum, faciet, ut ambitiosis rebus inplicitus semper aestus earum ferat. Sed cum viderit gravia, in quibus volutabatur, incerta, ancipitia, referet pedem, non vertet terga, sed sen-

[1] *inscribitur* Haase; *scribitur* MSS.

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[a] See the preceding letter of Seneca.
[b] Frag. 133 Usener.

which I am pondering? Read the letter of Epicurus[a] which bears on this matter; it is addressed to Idomeneus. The writer asks him to hasten as fast as he can, and beat a retreat before some stronger influence comes between and takes from him the liberty to withdraw. But he also adds that one should attempt nothing except at the time when it can be attempted suitably and seasonably. Then, when the long-sought occasion comes, let him be up and doing. Epicurus forbids[b] us to doze when we are meditating escape; he bids us hope for a safe release from even the hardest trials, provided that we are not in too great a hurry before the time, nor too dilatory when the time arrives.

Now, I suppose, you are looking for a Stoic motto also. There is really no reason why anyone should slander that school to you on the ground of its rashness; as a matter of fact, its caution is greater than its courage. You are perhaps expecting the sect to utter such words as these: "It is base to flinch under a burden. Wrestle with the duties which you have once undertaken. No man is brave and earnest if he avoids danger, if his spirit does not grow with the very difficulty of his task." Words like these will indeed be spoken to you, if only your perseverance shall have an object that is worth while, if only you will not have to do or to suffer anything unworthy of a good man; besides, a good man will not waste himself upon mean and discreditable work or be busy merely for the sake of being busy. Neither will he, as you imagine, become so involved in ambitious schemes that he will have continually to endure their ebb and flow. Nay, when he sees the dangers, uncertainties, and hazards in which he was formerly tossed about, he will withdraw,—not turn-

9 sim recedet in tutum. Facile est autem, mi Lucili, occupationes evadere, si occupationum pretia contempseris. Illa sunt, quae nos morantur et detinent: "Quid ergo? Tam magnas spes relinquam? Ab ipsa messe discedam? Nudum erit latus, incomitata lectica, atrium vacuum?"

Ab his ergo inviti homines recedunt et mercedem
10 miseriarum amant, ipsas execrantur. Sic de ambitione quomodo de amica queruntur; id est, si verum adfectum eorum inspicias, non oderunt, sed litigant. Excute istos, qui, quae cupiere, deplorant et de earum rerum locuntur fuga, quibus carere non possunt; videbis voluntariam esse illis in eo moram,
11 quod aegre ferre ipsos et misere locuntur. Ita est, Lucili; paucos servitus, plures servitutem tenent.

Sed si deponere illam in animo est et libertas bona fide placuit, in hoc autem unum advocationem petis, ut sine perpetua sollicitudine id tibi facere contingat, quidni tota te cohors Stoicorum probatura sit? Omnes Zenones et Chrysippi moderata, honesta,
12 tua suadebunt. Sed si propter hoc tergiversaris, ut circumspicias, quantum feras tecum et quam magna

ing his back to the foe, but falling back little by little to a safe position. From business, however, my dear Lucilius, it is easy to escape, if only you will despise the rewards of business. We are held back and kept from escaping by thoughts like these: "What then? Shall I leave behind me these great prospects? Shall I depart at the very time of harvest? Shall I have no slaves at my side? no retinue for my litter? no crowd in my reception-room?"

Hence men leave such advantages as these with reluctance; they love the reward of their hardships, but curse the hardships themselves. Men complain about their ambitions as they complain about their mistresses; in other words, if you penetrate their real feelings, you will find, not hatred, but bickering. Search the minds of those who cry down what they have desired, who talk about escaping from things which they are unable to do without; you will comprehend that they are lingering of their own free will in a situation which they declare they find it hard and wretched to endure. It is so, my dear Lucilius; there are a few men whom slavery holds fast, but there are many more who hold fast to slavery.

If, however, you intend to be rid of this slavery; if freedom is genuinely pleasing in your eyes; and if you seek counsel for this one purpose,—that you may have the good fortune to accomplish this purpose without perpetual annoyance, — how can the whole company of Stoic thinkers fail to approve your course? Zeno, Chrysippus, and all their kind will give you advice that is temperate, honourable, and suitable. But if you keep turning round and looking about, in order to see how much you may

pecunia instruas otium, numquam exitum invenies. Nemo cum sarcinis enatat. Emerge ad meliorem vitam propitiis dis, sed non sic, quomodo istis propitii sunt, quibus bono ac benigno vultu mala magnifica tribuerunt, ad hoc unum excusati, quod ista, quae urunt, quae excruciant, optantibus data sunt.

13 Iam inprimebam epistulae signum; resolvenda est, ut cum sollemni ad te munusculo veniat et aliquam magnificam vocem ferat secum, et occurrit mihi ecce nescio utrum verior an eloquentior. "Cuius?" inquis; Epicuri, adhuc enim alienas
14 sarcinas adsero[1]; "Nemo non ita exit e vita, tamquam modo intraverit." Quemcumque vis occupa, adulescentem senem medium; invenies aeque timidum mortis, aeque inscium vitae. Nemo quicquam habet facti, in futurum enim nostra distulimus. Nihil me magis in ista voce delectat quam
15 quod exprobratur senibus infantia. "Nemo," inquit, "aliter quam qui modo[2] natus est exit e vita." Falsum est; peiores morimur quam nascimur. Nostrum istud, non naturae vitium est. Illa nobiscum queri[3] debet et dicere: "Quid hoc est? Sine cupiditatibus vos genui, sine timoribus, sine superstitione, sine perfidia ceterisque pestibus; quales intrastis exite."

[1] *adsero* Harmon; *adopto* Hense; *adoro* LPb.
[2] *qui modo* Wolters; *quomodo* MSS.
[3] *nobiscum queri* Haase; *nobis conqueri* MSS.

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[a] Frag. 495 Usener.
[b] *i.e.*, the old man is like the infant in this, also,—that he can look back upon nothing which he has finished, because he has always put off finishing things.

carry away with you, and how much money you may keep to equip yourself for the life of leisure, you will never find a way out. No man can swim ashore and take his baggage with him. Rise to a higher life, with the favour of the gods; but let it not be favour of such a kind as the gods give to men when with kind and genial faces they bestow magnificent ills, justified in so doing by the one fact that the things which irritate and torture have been bestowed in answer to prayer.

I was just putting the seal upon this letter; but it must be broken again, in order that it may go to you with its customary contribution, bearing with it some noble word. And lo, here is one that occurs to my mind; I do not know whether its truth or its nobility of utterance is the greater. "Spoken by whom?" you ask. By Epicurus[a]; for I am still appropriating other men's belongings. The words are: "Everyone goes out of life just as if he had but lately entered it." Take anyone off his guard, —young, old, or middle-aged; you will find that all are equally afraid of death, and equally ignorant of life. No one has anything finished, because we have kept putting off into the future all our undertakings.[b] No thought in the quotation given above pleases me more than that it taunts old men with being infants. "No one," he says, "leaves this world in a different manner from one who has just been born." That is not true; for we are worse when we die than when we were born; but it is our fault, and not that of Nature. Nature should scold us, saying: "What does this mean? I brought you into the world without desires or fears, free from superstition, treachery and the other curses. Go forth as you were when you entered!"

16 Percepit sapientiam, si quis tam securus morietur quam nascitur; nunc vero trepidamus, cum periculum accessit, non animus nobis, non color constat; lacrimae nihil profuturae cadunt. Quid est turpius quam in ipso limine securitatis esse sollicitum?
17 Causa autem haec est, quod inanes omnium bonorum sumus, vitae iactura[1] laboramus. Non enim apud nos pars eius ulla subsedit; transmissa est et effluxit. Nemo quam bene vivat, sed quam diu, curat, cum omnibus possit contingere, ut bene vivant, ut diu, nulli. Vale.

XXIII.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Putas me tibi scripturum, quam humane nobiscum hiemps egerit, quae et remissa fuit et brevis, quam malignum ver sit, quam praeposterum frigus, et alias ineptias verba quaerentium? Ego vero aliquid, quod et mihi et tibi prodesse possit, scribam. Quid autem id erit, nisi ut te exhorter ad bonam mentem? Huius fundamentum quod sit quaeris? Ne gaudeas vanis. Fundamentum hoc esse dixi; culmen est.
2 Ad summa pervenit, qui scit, quo gaudeat, qui felicitatem suam in aliena potestate non posuit; sollicitus est et incertus sui, quem spes aliqua

[1] Hense inserts *iactura* after *vitae*.

A man has caught the message of wisdom, if he can die as free from care as he was at birth; but as it is, we are all a-flutter at the approach of the dreaded end. Our courage fails us, our cheeks blanch; our tears fall, though they are unavailing. But what is baser than to fret at the very threshold of peace? The reason, however, is, that we are stripped of all our goods, we have jettisoned our cargo of life and are in distress; for no part of it has been packed in the hold; it has all been heaved overboard and has drifted away. Men do not care how nobly they live, but only how long, although it is within the reach of every man to live nobly, but within no man's power to live long. Farewell.

XXIII. ON THE TRUE JOY WHICH COMES FROM PHILOSOPHY

Do you suppose that I shall write you how kindly the winter season has dealt with us,—a short season and a mild one,—or what a nasty spring we are having,—cold weather out of season,—and all the other trivialities which people write when they are at a loss for topics of conversation? No; I shall communicate something which may help both you and myself. And what shall this "something" be, if not an exhortation to soundness of mind? Do you ask what is the foundation of a sound mind? It is, not to find joy in useless things. I said that it was the foundation; it is really the pinnacle. We have reached the heights if we know what it is that we find joy in and if we have not placed our happiness in the control of externals. The man who is goaded ahead by hope of anything, though it be

proritat, licet ad manum sit, licet non ex difficili petatur, licet numquam illum sperata deceperint.
3 Hoc ante omnia fac, mi Lucili: disce gaudere.

Existimas nunc me detrahere tibi multas voluptates, qui fortuita summoveo, qui spes, dulcissima oblectamenta, devitandas existimo? Immo contra nolo tibi umquam deesse laetitiam. Volo illam tibi domi nasci; nascitur, si modo intra te ipsum sit. Ceterae hilaritates non implent pectus, frontem remittunt, leves sunt, nisi forte tu iudicas eum gaudere, qui ridet. Animus esse debet alacer et fidens et super omnia erectus.

4 Mihi crede, verum gaudium res severa est. An tu existimas quemquam soluto vultu et, ut isti delicati locuntur, hilariculo mortem contemnere, paupertati domum aperire, voluptates tenere sub freno, meditari dolorum patientiam? Haec qui apud se versat, in magno gaudio est, sed parum blando. In huius gaudii possessione esse te volo; numquam deficiet,
5 cum semel unde petatur inveneris. Levium metallorum fructus in summo est; illa opulentissima sunt, quorum in alto latet vena adsidue plenius responsura fodienti. Haec, quibus delectatur vulgus, tenuem habent ac perfusoriam voluptatem, et quodcumque invecticium gaudium est, fundamento caret. Hoc, de quo loquor, ad quod te conor perducere, solidum est

[a] Death, poverty, temptation, and suffering.

within reach, though it be easy of access, and though his ambitions have never played him false, is troubled and unsure of himself. Above all, my dear Lucilius, make this your business: learn how to feel joy.

Do you think that I am now robbing you of many pleasures when I try to do away with the gifts of chance, when I counsel the avoidance of hope, the sweetest thing that gladdens our hearts? Quite the contrary; I do not wish you ever to be deprived of gladness. I would have it born in your house; and it is born there, if only it be inside of you. Other objects of cheer do not fill a man's bosom; they merely smooth his brow and are inconstant,—unless perhaps you believe that he who laughs has joy. The very soul must be happy and confident, lifted above every circumstance.

Real joy, believe me, is a stern matter. Can one, do you think, despise death with a care-free countenance, or with a "blithe and gay" expression, as our young dandies are accustomed to say? Or can one thus open his door to poverty, or hold the curb on his pleasures, or contemplate the endurance of pain? He who ponders these things[a] in his heart is indeed full of joy; but it is not a cheerful joy. It is just this joy, however, of which I would have you become the owner; for it will never fail you when once you have found its source. The yield of poor mines is on the surface; those are really rich whose veins lurk deep, and they will make more bountiful returns to him who delves unceasingly. So too those baubles which delight the common crowd afford but a thin pleasure, laid on as a coating, and every joy that is only plated lacks a real basis. But the joy of which I speak, that to which I am endeavouring to lead you, is something solid, dis-

6 et quod plus pateat introrsus. Fac, oro te, Lucili carissime, quod unum potest praestare felicem: dissice et conculca ista, quae extrinsecus splendent, quae tibi promittuntur ab alio vel ex alio, ad verum bonum specta et de tuo gaude. Quid est autem hoc "de tuo"? Te ipso et tui optima parte. Corpusculum quoque, etiam si nihil fieri sine illo potest, magis necessariam rem crede quam magnam; vanas suggerit voluptates, breves, paenitendas, ac nisi magna moderatione temperentur, in contrarium abituras. Ita dico: in praecipiti voluptas ad dolorem vergit, nisi modum tenuit.

Modum autem tenere in eo difficile est, quod bonum esse credideris. Veri boni aviditas tuta est.
7 Quid sit istud, interrogas, aut unde subeat? Dicam: ex bona conscientia, ex honestis consiliis, ex rectis actionibus, ex contemptu fortuitorum, ex placido vitae et continuo tenore unam prementis viam. Nam illi, qui ex aliis propositis in alia transiliunt aut ne transiliunt quidem, sed casu quodam transmittuntur, quomodo habere quicquam certum mansurumve
8 possunt suspensi et vagi? Pauci sunt, qui consilio se suaque disponant, ceteri eorum more, quae fluminibus innatant, non eunt, sed feruntur. Ex quibus alia lenior unda detinuit ac mollius vexit, alia vehe-

[a] By the various sects which professed to teach how happiness is to be obtained.

closing itself the more fully as you penetrate into it. Therefore I pray you, my dearest Lucilius, do the one thing that can render you really happy: cast aside and trample under foot all those things that glitter outwardly and are held out to you[a] by another or as obtainable from another; look toward the true good, and rejoice only in that which comes from your own store. And what do I mean by "from your own store"? I mean from your very self, that which is the best part of you. The frail body, also, even though we can accomplish nothing without it, is to be regarded as necessary rather than as important; it involves us in vain pleasures, short-lived, and soon to be regretted, which, unless they are reined in by extreme self-control, will be transformed into the opposite. This is what I mean: pleasure, unless it has been kept within bounds, tends to rush headlong into the abyss of sorrow.

But it is hard to keep within bounds in that which you believe to be good. The real good may be coveted with safety. Do you ask me what this real good is, and whence it derives? I will tell you: it comes from a good conscience, from honourable purposes, from right actions, from contempt of the gifts of chance, from an even and calm way of living which treads but one path. For men who leap from one purpose to another, or do not even leap but are carried over by a sort of hazard,—how can such wavering and unstable persons possess any good that is fixed and lasting? There are only a few who control themselves and their affairs by a guiding purpose; the rest do not proceed; they are merely swept along, like objects afloat in a river. And of these objects, some are held back by sluggish waters and

mentior rapuit, alia proxima ripae cursu languescente deposuit, alia torrens impetus in mare eiecit. Ideo constituendum est, quid velimus, et in eo perseverandum.

9 Hic est locus solvendi aeris alieni. Possum enim tibi vocem Epicuri tui reddere et hanc epistulam liberare: "Molestum est semper vitam incohare."[a] Aut si hoc modo magis sensus potest exprimi: "Male
10 vivunt, qui semper vivere incipiunt." "Quare?" inquis, desiderat enim explanationem ista vox. Quia semper illis inperfecta vita est. Non potest autem stare paratus ad mortem, qui modo incipit vivere. Id agendum est, ut satis vixerimus. Nemo
11 hoc putat, qui orditur cum maxime vitam. Non est quod existimes paucos esse hos; propemodum omnes sunt. Quidam vero tunc incipiunt, cum desinendum est. Si hoc iudicas mirum, adiciam quod magis admireris: quidam ante vivere desierunt quam inciperent. Vale.

XXIIII.

Seneca Lucilio suo salutem[b]

1 Sollicitum esse te scribis de iudicii eventu, quod tibi furor inimici denuntiat, existimas me suasurum, ut meliora tibi ipse proponas et adquiescas spei blandae. Quid enim necesse est mala accersere,

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[a] Frag. 493 Usener.

[b] Seneca's theme is suggested by the fear which possesses Lucilius as to the issue of a lawsuit. This fear is taken as typical of all fears, and Seneca devotes most of his letter to the greatest fear of all,—fear of death.

are transported gently; others are torn along by a more violent current; some, which are nearest the bank, are left there as the current slackens; and others are carried out to sea by the onrush of the stream. Therefore, we should decide what we wish, and abide by the decision.

Now is the time for me to pay my debt. I can give you a saying of your friend Epicurus[a] and thus clear this letter of its obligation: "It is bothersome always to be beginning life." Or another, which will perhaps express the meaning better: "They live ill who are always beginning to live." You are right in asking why; the saying certainly stands in need of a commentary. It is because the life of such persons is always incomplete. But a man cannot stand prepared for the approach of death if he has just begun to live. We must make it our aim already to have lived long enough. No one deems that he has done so, if he is just on the point of planning his life. You need not think that there are few of this kind; practically everyone is of such a stamp. Some men, indeed, only begin to live when it is time for them to leave off living. And if this seems surprising to you, I shall add that which will surprise you still more: Some men have left off living before they have begun. Farewell.

XXIV. ON DESPISING DEATH[b]

You write me that you are anxious about the result of a lawsuit, with which an angry opponent is threatening you; and you expect me to advise you to picture to yourself a happier issue, and to rest in the allurements of hope. Why, indeed, is

satis cito patienda cum venerint, praesumere ac praesens tempus futuri metu perdere? Est sine dubio stultum, quia quandoque sis futurus miser, esse iam miserum. Sed ego alia te ad securitatem
2 via ducam: si vis omnem sollicitudinem exuere, quicquid vereris ne eveniat, eventurum utique propone, et quodcumque est illud malum, tecum ipse metire ac timorem tuum taxa; intelleges profecto aut non magnum aut non longum esse, quod metuis.
3 Nec diu exempla, quibus confirmeris, colligenda sunt; omnis illa aetas tulit. In quamcumque partem rerum vel civilium vel externarum memoriam miseris, occurrent tibi ingenia aut profectus aut inpetus magni.

Numquid accidere tibi, si damnaris, potest durius quam ut mittaris in exilium, ut ducaris in carcerem? Numquid ultra quicquam ulli timendum est quam ut uratur, quam ut pereat? Singula ista constitue et contemptores eorum cita, qui non quaerendi, sed
4 eligendi sunt. Damnationem suam Rutilius sic tulit, tamquam nihil illi molestum aliud esset quam quod male iudicaretur. Exilium Metellus fortiter tulit, Rutilius etiam libenter; alter, ut rediret, rei publicae praestitit, alter reditum suum Sullae negavit, cui nihil tunc negabatur. In carcere Socrates disputavit et exire, cum essent qui promitterent fugam, noluit remansitque, ut duarum rerum gravissimarum homini-

it necessary to summon trouble,—which must be endured soon enough when it has once arrived,—or to anticipate trouble and ruin the present through fear of the future? It is indeed foolish to be unhappy now because you may be unhappy at some future time. But I shall conduct you to peace of mind by another route: if you would put off all worry, assume that what you fear may happen will certainly happen in any event; whatever the trouble may be, measure it in your own mind, and estimate the amount of your fear. You will thus understand that what you fear is either insignificant or short-lived. And you need not spend a long time in gathering illustrations which will strengthen you; every epoch has produced them. Let your thoughts travel into any era of Roman or foreign history, and there will throng before you notable examples of high achievement or of high endeavour.

If you lose this case, can anything more severe happen to you than being sent into exile or led to prison? Is there a worse fate that any man may fear than being burned or being killed? Name such penalties one by one, and mention the men who have scorned them; one does not need to hunt for them,—it is simply a matter of selection. Sentence of conviction was borne by Rutilius as if the injustice of the decision were the only thing which annoyed him. Exile was endured by Metellus with courage, by Rutilius even with gladness; for the former consented to come back only because his country called him; the latter refused to return when Sulla summoned him,—and nobody in those days said "No" to Sulla! Socrates in prison discoursed, and declined to flee when certain persons gave him the opportunity; he remained there, in order to free mankind from the

5 bus metum demeret, mortis et carceris. Mucius ignibus manum inposuit. Acerbum est uri; quanto acerbius, si id te faciente patiaris! Vides hominem non eruditum nec ullis praeceptis contra mortem aut dolorem subornatum, militari tantum robore instructum, poenas a se inriti conatus exigentem; spectator destillantis in hostili foculo dexterae stetit nec ante removit nudis ossibus fluentem manum, quam ignis illi ab hoste subductus est. Facere aliquid in illis castris felicius potuit, nihil fortius. Vide quanto acrior sit ad occupanda pericula virtus quam crudelitas ad inroganda: facilius Porsenna Mucio ignovit, quod voluerat occidere, quam sibi Mucius, quod non occiderat.

6 "Decantatae," inquis, "in omnibus scholis fabulae istae sunt; iam mihi, cum ad contemnendam mortem ventum fuerit, Catonem narrabis." Quidni ego narrem ultima illa nocte Platonis librum legentem posito ad caput gladio? Duo haec in rebus extremis instrumenta prospexerat, alterum ut vellet mori, alterum, ut posset. Compositis ergo rebus, utcumque componi fractae atque ultimae poterant, id agendum existimavit, ne cui Catonem aut occidere liceret aut

7 servare contingeret. Et stricto gladio, quem usque in illum diem ab omni caede purum servaverat: "Nihil," inquit, "egisti, fortuna, omnibus conatibus meis obstando. Non pro mea adhuc sed pro patriae

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[a] The *foculus* in this version of the story was evidently a movable fire, a brazier.

[b] The *Phaedo*, on the immortality of the soul.

[c] *i.e.*, to save and bring back to Rome as prisoner.

fear of two most grievous things, death and imprisonment. Mucius put his hand into the fire. It is painful to be burned; but how much more painful to inflict such suffering upon oneself! Here was a man of no learning, not primed to face death and pain by any words of wisdom, and equipped only with the courage of a soldier, who punished himself for his fruitless daring; he stood and watched his own right hand falling away piecemeal on the enemy's brazier,[a] nor did he withdraw the dissolving limb, with its uncovered bones, until his foe removed the fire. He might have accomplished something more successful in that camp, but never anything more brave. See how much keener a brave man is to lay hold of danger than a cruel man is to inflict it: Porsenna was more ready to pardon Mucius for wishing to slay him than Mucius to pardon himself for failing to slay Porsenna!

"Oh," say you, "those stories have been droned to death in all the schools; pretty soon, when you reach the topic 'On Despising Death,' you will be telling me about Cato." But why should I not tell you about Cato, how he read Plato's[b] book on that last glorious night, with a sword laid at his pillow? He had provided these two requisites for his last moments,—the first, that he might have the will to die, and the second, that he might have the means. So he put his affairs in order,—as well as one could put in order that which was ruined and near its end,—and thought that he ought to see to it that no one should have the power to slay or the good fortune to save[c] Cato. Drawing the sword,—which he had kept unstained from all bloodshed against the final day,—he cried: "Fortune, you have accomplished nothing by resisting all my endeavours. I have fought, till

libertate pugnavi, nec agebam tanta pertinacia, ut
liber, sed ut inter liberos viverem. Nunc quoniam
deploratae sunt res generis humani, Cato deducatur
8 in tutum." Inpressit deinde mortiferum corpori
vulnus. Quo obligato a medicis cum minus sanguinis
haberet, minus virium, animi idem, iam non tantum
Caesari sed sibi iratus nudas in vulnus manus egit et
generosum illum contemptoremque omnis potentiae
spiritum non emisit, sed eiecit.

9 Non in hoc exempla nunc congero, ut ingenium
exerceam, sed ut te adversus id, quod maxime terribile videtur, exhorter. Facilius autem exhortabor,
si ostendero non fortes tantum viros hoc momentum
efflandae animae contempsisse, sed quosdam ad alia
ignavos in hac re aequasse animum fortissimorum,
sicut illum Cn. Pompei socerum Scipionem, qui contrario in Africam vento relatus cum teneri navem
suam vidisset ab hostibus, ferro se transverberavit
et quaerentibus, ubi imperator esset, "Imperator,"
10 inquit, "se bene habet." Vox haec illum parem
maioribus fecit et fatalem Scipionibus in Africa
gloriam non est interrumpi passa. Multum fuit
Carthaginem vincere, sed amplius mortem. "Imperator," inquit, "se bene habet." An aliter debebat
11 imperator, et quidem Catonis, mori? Non revoco te
ad historias nec ex omnibus saeculis contemptores

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[a] Scipio Africanus defeated Hannibal at Zama in 202 B.C. Scipio Aemilianus, also surnamed Africanus, was by adoption the grandson of Hannibal's conqueror. He captured Carthage in the Third Punic War, 146 B.C. The Scipio mentioned by Seneca died in 46 B.C.

now, for my country's freedom, and not for my own; I did not strive so doggedly to be free, but only to live among the free. Now, since the affairs of mankind are beyond hope, let Cato be withdrawn to safety." So saying, he inflicted a mortal wound upon his body. After the physicians had bound it up, Cato had less blood and less strength, but no less courage; angered now not only at Caesar but also at himself, he rallied his unarmed hands against his wound, and expelled, rather than dismissed, that noble soul which had been so defiant of all worldly power.

I am not now heaping up these illustrations for the purpose of exercising my wit, but for the purpose of encouraging you to face that which is thought to be most terrible. And I shall encourage you all the more easily by showing that not only resolute men have despised that moment when the soul breathes its last, but that certain persons, who were craven in other respects, have equalled in this regard the courage of the bravest. Take, for example, Scipio, the father-in-law of Gnaeus Pompeius: he was driven back upon the African coast by a head-wind and saw his ship in the power of the enemy. He therefore pierced his body with a sword; and when they asked where the commander was, he replied: "All is well with the commander." These words brought him up to the level of his ancestors and suffered not the glory which fate gave to the Scipios in Africa [a] to lose its continuity. It was a great deed to conquer Carthage, but a greater deed to conquer death. "All is well with the commander!" Ought a general to die otherwise, especially one of Cato's generals? I shall not refer you to history, or collect examples of those men who throughout the ages have

mortis, qui sunt plurimi, colligo. Respice ad haec nostra tempora, de quorum languore ac deliciis querimur; omnis ordinis homines suggerent, omnis fortunae, omnis aetatis, qui mala sua morte praeciderint.

Mihi crede, Lucili, adeo mors timenda non est, ut beneficio eius nihil timendum[1] sit. Securus itaque
12 inimici minas audi. Et quamvis conscientia tibi tua fiduciam faciat, tamen quia multa extra causam valent, et quod aequissimum est spera, et ad id te quod est iniquissimum conpara. Illud autem ante omnia memento, demere rebus tumultum ac videre, quid in quaque re sit; scies nihil esse in istis terribile
13 nisi ipsum timorem. Quod vides accidere pueris, hoc nobis quoque maiusculis pueris evenit: illi quos amant, quibus adsueverunt, cum quibus ludunt, si personatos vident, expavescunt. Non hominibus tantum, sed rebus persona demenda est et reddenda facies sua.

14 Quid mihi gladios et ignes ostendis et turbam carnificum circa te frementem? Tolle istam pompam, sub qua lates et stultos territas! Mors es,[2] quam nuper servus meus, quam ancilla contempsit. Quid tu rursus mihi flagella et eculeos magno apparatu explicas? Quid singulis articulis singula machinamenta, quibus extorqueantur, aptata et mille alia

[1] *timendum* p; *anteferendum* L; *anteferendum timendum* Pb; *ante* (*a te* Lipsius) *verendum* Gertz.
[2] *es* Lipsius; *est* MSS.

[a] He refers to the lawsuit, as again in § 16.
[b] An apostrophe to Death and Pain.

despised death; for they are very many. Consider these times of ours, whose enervation and over-refinement call forth our complaints; they nevertheless will include men of every rank, of every lot in life, and of every age, who have cut short their misfortunes by death.

Believe me, Lucilius; death is so little to be feared that through its good offices nothing is to be feared. Therefore, when your enemy threatens, listen unconcernedly. Although your conscience makes you confident, yet, since many things have weight which are outside your case,[a] both hope for that which is utterly just, and prepare yourself against that which is utterly unjust. Remember, however, before all else, to strip things of all that disturbs and confuses, and to see what each is at bottom; you will then comprehend that they contain nothing fearful except the actual fear. What you see happening to boys happens also to ourselves, who are only slightly bigger boys: when those whom they love, with whom they daily associate, with whom they play, appear with masks on, the boys are frightened out of their wits. We should strip the mask, not only from men, but from things, and restore to each object its own aspect.

"Why dost thou[b] hold up before my eyes swords, fires, and a throng of executioners raging about thee? Take away all that vain show, behind which thou lurkest and scarest fools! Ah! thou art naught but Death, whom only yesterday a man-servant of mine and a maid-servant did despise! Why dost thou again unfold and spread before me, with all that great display, the whip and the rack? Why are those engines of torture made ready, one for each several member of the body, and all the

instrumenta excarnificandi particulatim hominis? Pone ista, quae nos obstupefaciunt. Iube conticiscere gemitus et exclamationes et vocum inter lacerationem elisarum acerbitatem! Nempe dolor es,[1] quem podagricus ille contemnit, quem stomachicus ille in ipsis deliciis perfert, quem in puerperio puella perpetitur. Levis es,[1] si ferre possum, brevis es,[1] si ferre non possum.

15 Haec in animo voluta, quae saepe audisti, saepe dixisti. Sed an vere audieris, an vere dixeris, effectu proba. Hoc enim turpissimum est, quod nobis obici solet, verba nos philosophiae, non opera tractare.

Quid, tu nunc primum tibi mortem inminere scisti, nunc exilium, nunc dolorem? In haec natus es. Quicquid fieri potest, quasi futurum cogitemus.
16 Quod facere te moneo, scio certe te fecisse; nunc admoneo, ut animum tuum non mergas in istam sollicitudinem. Hebetabitur enim et minus habebit vigoris, cum exurgendum erit. Abduc illum a privata causa ad publicam. Dic mortale tibi et fragile corpusculum esse, cui non ex iniuria tantum aut ex potentioris[2] viribus denuntiabitur dolor. Ipsae voluptates in tormenta vertuntur, epulae cruditatem adferunt, ebrietates nervorum torporem tremoremque, libidines pedum, manuum, articulorum omnium depravationes.

17 Pauper fiam; inter plures ero. Exul fiam; ibi

[1] *es* Gertz; *est* MSS.
[2] *potentioris* inferior MSS.; the others read *potentioribus*.

other innumerable machines for tearing a man apart piecemeal? Away with all such stuff, which makes us numb with terror! And thou, silence the groans, the cries, and the bitter shrieks ground out of the victim as he is torn on the rack! Forsooth thou are naught but Pain, scorned by yonder gout-ridden wretch, endured by yonder dyspeptic in the midst of his dainties, borne bravely by the girl in travail. Slight thou art, if I can bear thee; short thou art if I cannot bear thee!"

Ponder these words which you have often heard and often uttered. Moreover, prove by the result whether that which you have heard and uttered is true. For there is a very disgraceful charge often brought against our school,—that we deal with the words, and not with the deeds, of philosophy.

What, have you only at this moment learned that death is hanging over your head, at this moment exile, at this moment grief? You were born to these perils. Let us think of everything that can happen as something which will happen. I know that you have really done what I advise you to do; I now warn you not to drown your soul in these petty anxieties of yours; if you do, the soul will be dulled and will have too little vigour left when the time comes for it to arise. Remove the mind from this case of yours to the case of men in general. Say to yourself that our petty bodies are mortal and frail; pain can reach them from other sources than from wrong or the might of the stronger. Our pleasures themselves become torments; banquets bring indigestion, carousals paralysis of the muscles and palsy, sensual habits affect the feet, the hands, and every joint of the body.

I may become a poor man; I shall then be one

me natum putabo, quo mittar.] Alligabor; quid enim? Nunc solutus sum? Ad hoc me natura grave corporis mei pondus adstrinxit. Moriar; hoc dicis, desinam aegrotare posse, desinam alligari posse,
18 desinam mori posse. Non sum tam ineptus, ut Epicuream cantilenam hoc loco persequar et dicam vanos esse inferorum metus, nec Ixionem rota volvi nec saxum umeris Sisyphi trudi in adversum nec ullius viscera et renasci posse cotidie et carpi; nemo tam puer est, ut Cerberum timeat et tenebras et larvalem habitum nudis ossibus cohaerentium. Mors nos aut consumit aut exuit. Emissis meliora restant onere detracto, consumptis nihil restat, bona pariter malaque submota sunt.

19 Permitte mihi hoc loco referre versum tuum, si prius admonuero, ut te iudices non aliis scripsisse ista, sed etiam tibi. Turpe est aliud loqui, aliud sentire; quanto turpius aliud scribere, aliud sentire! Memini te illum locum aliquando tractasse, non repente nos in mortem incidere, sed minutatim pro-
20 cedere; cotidie morimur. Cotidie enim demitur aliqua pars vitae, et tunc quoque, cum crescimus, vita decrescit. Infantiam amisimus, deinde pueritiam, deinde adulescentiam. Usque ad hesternum, quicquid transît temporis, perît; hunc ipsum, quem

[a] As mythology describes the treatment of Tityus or of Prometheus.

among many. I may be exiled; I shall then regard myself as born in the place to which I shall be sent. They may put me in chains. What then? Am I free from bonds now? Behold this clogging burden of a body, to which nature has fettered me! "I shall die," you say; you mean to say "I shall cease to run the risk of sickness; I shall cease to run the risk of imprisonment; I shall cease to run the risk of death." I am not so foolish as to go through at this juncture the arguments which Epicurus harps upon, and say that the terrors of the world below are idle,—that Ixion does not whirl round on his wheel, that Sisyphus does not shoulder his stone uphill, that a man's entrails cannot be restored and devoured every day;* no one is so childish as to fear Cerberus, or the shadows, or the spectral garb of those who are held together by naught but their unfleshed bones. Death either annihilates us or strips us bare. If we are then released, there remains the better part, after the burden has been withdrawn; if we are annihilated, nothing remains; good and bad are alike removed.

Allow me at this point to quote a verse of yours, first suggesting that, when you wrote it, you meant it for yourself no less than for others. It is ignoble to say one thing and mean another; and how much more ignoble to write one thing and mean another! I remember one day you were handling the well-known commonplace,—that we do not suddenly fall on death, but advance towards it by slight degrees; we die every day. For every day a little of our life is taken from us; even when we are growing, our life is on the wane. We lose our childhood, then our boyhood, and then our youth. Counting even yesterday, all past time is lost time; the very day

agimus, diem cum morte dividimus. Quemadmodum clepsydram non extremum stillicidium exhaurit, sed quicquid ante defluxit, sic ultima hora, qua esse desinimus, non sola mortem facit, sed sola consummat; tunc ad illam pervenimus, sed diu venimus.

21 Haec cum descripsisses quo soles ore, semper quidem magnus, numquam tamen acrior quam ubi veritati commodas verba, dixisti:

Mors non una[1] venit, sed quae rapit, ultima mors est.

Malo te legas quam epistulam meam. Apparebit enim tibi hanc, quam timemus, mortem extremam esse, non solam.

22 Video quo spectes; quaeris, quid huic epistulae infulserim, quod dictum alicuius animosum, quod praeceptum utile. Ex hac ipsa materia, quae in manibus fuit, mittetur aliquid. Obiurgat Epicurus non minus eos, qui mortem concupiscunt, quam eos, qui timent, et ait: "Ridiculum est currere ad mortem taedio vitae, cum genere vitae, ut currendum ad

23 mortem esset, effeceris." Item alio loco dicit: "Quid tam ridiculum quam adpetere mortem, cum vitam inquietam tibi feceris metu mortis?" His adicias et illud eiusdem notae licet, tantam hominum inprudentiam esse, immo dementiam, ut quidam timore mortis cogantur ad mortem.

24 Quicquid horum tractaveris, confirmabis animum

[1] *una* Muretus; *ultima* MSS.

[a] Frag. 496 Usener. [b] Frag. 498 Usener. [c] Frag. 497 Usener.

which we are now spending is shared between ourselves and death. It is not the last drop that empties the water-clock, but all that which previously has flowed out; similarly, the final hour when we cease to exist does not of itself bring death; it merely of itself completes the death-process. We reach death at that moment, but we have been a long time on the way. In describing this situation, you said in your customary style (for you are always impressive, but never more pungent than when you are putting the truth in appropriate words):—

> Not single is the death which comes; the death
> Which takes us off is but the last of all.

I prefer that you should read your own words rather than my letter; for then it will be clear to you that this death, of which we are afraid, is the last but not the only death.

I see what you are looking for; you are asking what I have packed into my letter, what inspiriting saying from some master-mind, what useful precept. So I shall send you something dealing with this very subject which has been under discussion. Epicurus [a] upbraids those who crave, as much as those who shrink from, death: "It is absurd," he says, "to run towards death because you are tired of life, when it is your manner of life that has made you run towards death." And in another passage: [b] "What is so absurd as to seek death, when it is through fear of death that you have robbed your life of peace?" And you may add a third statement, of the same stamp: [c] "Men are so thoughtless, nay, so mad, that some, through fear of death, force themselves to die."

Whichever of these ideas you ponder, you will strengthen your mind for the endurance alike of

vel ad mortis vel ad vitae patientiam. In utrumque[1] enim monendi ac firmandi sumus, et ne nimis amemus vitam et ne nimis oderimus. Etiam cum ratio suadet finire se,[2] non temere nec cum procursu capiendus est
25 inpetus. Vir fortis ac sapiens non fugere debet e vita, sed exire. Et ante omnia ille quoque vitetur affectus, qui multos occupavit, libido moriendi. Est enim, mi Lucili, ut ad alia, sic etiam ad moriendum inconsulta animi inclinatio, quae saepe generosos atque acerrimae indolis viros corripit, saepe ignavos iacentesque; illi contemnunt vitam, hi gravantur.

26 Quosdam subit eadem faciendi videndique satietas et vitae non odium sed fastidium, in quod prolabimur ipsa inpellente philosophia, dum dicimus: "Quousque eadem? Nempe expergiscar dormiam, esuriam fastidiam,[3] algebo aestuabo. Nullius rei finis est, sed in orbem nexa sunt omnia, fugiunt ac secuntur. Diem nox premit, dies noctem, aestas in autumnum desinit, autumno hiemps instat, quae vere conpescitur; omnia sic transeunt ut revertantur. Nihil novi facio, nihil novi video; fit aliquando et huius rei nausia." Multi sunt, qui non acerbum iudicent vivere, sed supervacuum. VALE.

[1] *aut in utrumque* pLPb; Hense rejects *aut.*
[2] *se* Madvig; *sed* MSS.
[3] Hense adds *fastidiam.*

death and of life. For we need to be warned and strengthened in both directions,—not to love or to hate life overmuch; even when reason advises us to make an end of it, the impulse is not to be adopted without reflection or at headlong speed. The brave and wise man should not beat a hasty retreat from life; he should make a becoming exit. And above all, he should avoid the weakness which has taken possession of so many,—the lust for death. For just as there is an unreflecting tendency of the mind towards other things, so, my dear Lucilius, there is an unreflecting tendency towards death; this often seizes upon the noblest and most spirited men, as well as upon the craven and the abject. The former despise life; the latter find it irksome.

Others also are moved by a satiety of doing and seeing the same things, and not so much by a hatred of life as because they are cloyed with it. We slip into this condition, while philosophy itself pushes us on, and we say: "How long must I endure the same things? Shall I continue to wake and sleep, be hungry and be cloyed, shiver and perspire? There is an end to nothing; all things are connected in a sort of circle; they flee and they are pursued. Night is close at the heels of day, day at the heels of night; summer ends in autumn, winter rushes after autumn, and winter softens into spring; all nature in this way passes, only to return. I do nothing new; I see nothing new; sooner or later one sickens of this, also." There are many who think that living is not painful, but superfluous. Farewell.

XXV.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Quod ad duos amicos nostros pertinet, diversa via eundum est; alterius enim vitia emendanda, alterius frangenda sunt. Utar libertate tota. Non amo illum, nisi offendo. "Quid ergo?" inquis, "quadragenarium pupillum cogitas sub tutela tua continere? Respice aetatem eius iam duram et intractabilem.
2 Non potest reformari; tenera finguntur." An profecturus sim nescio. Malo successum mihi quam fidem deesse. Nec desperaveris etiam diutinos aegros posse sanari, si contra intemperantiam steteris, si multa invitos et facere coegeris et pati. Ne de altero quidem satis fiduciae habeo, excepto eo, quod adhuc peccare erubescit. Nutriendus est hic pudor, qui quamdiu in animo eius duraverit, aliquis erit bonae spei locus. Cum hoc veterano parcius agen-
3 dum puto, ne in desperationem sui veniat. Nec ullum tempus adgrediendi fuit melius quam hoc, dum interquiescit, dum emendato similis est. Aliis haec intermissio eius inposuit; mihi verba non dat. Exspecto cum magno faenore vitia reditura, quae nunc scio cessare, non deesse. Inpendam huic rei dies et utrum possit aliquid agi an non possit, experiar.

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[a] The second friend, whose faults are to be crushed out. He proves to be some forty years old; the other is a youth.

XXV. ON REFORMATION

With regard to these two friends of ours, we must proceed along different lines; the faults of the one are to be corrected, the other's are to be crushed out. I shall take every liberty; for I do not love this one[a] if I am unwilling to hurt his feelings. "What," you say, "do you expect to keep a forty-year-old ward under your tutelage? Consider his age, how hardened it now is, and past handling! Such a man cannot be re-shaped; only young minds are moulded." I do not know whether I shall make progress; but I should prefer to lack success rather than to lack faith. You need not despair of curing sick men even when the disease is chronic, if only you hold out against excess and force them to do and submit to many things against their will. As regards our other friend I am not sufficiently confident, either, except for the fact that he still has sense of shame enough to blush for his sins. This modesty should be fostered; so long as it endures in his soul, there is some room for hope. But as for this veteran of yours, I think we should deal more carefully with him, that he may not become desperate about himself. There is no better time to approach him than now, when he has an interval of rest and seems like one who has corrected his faults. Others have been cheated by this interval of virtue on his part, but he does not cheat me. I feel sure that these faults will return, as it were, with compound interest, for just now, I am certain, they are in abeyance but not absent. I shall devote some time to the matter, and try to see whether or not something can be done.

4 Tu nobis te, ut facis, fortem praesta et sarcinas
contrahe. Nihil ex his, quae habemus, necessarium
est. Ad legem naturae revertamur ; divitiae paratae
sunt. Aut gratuitum est, quo egemus, aut vile ;
panem et aquam natura desiderat. Nemo ad haec
pauper est, intra quae quisquis desiderium suum clusit,
cum ipso Iove de felicitate contendat, ut ait Epicurus,
5 cuius aliquam vocem huic epistulae involvam. "Sic
fac," inquit, "omnia, tamquam spectet Epicurus."
Prodest sine dubio custodem sibi inposuisse et habere,
quem respicias, quem interesse cogitationibus tuis
iudices. Hoc quidem longe magnificentius est, sic
vivere tamquam sub alicuius boni viri ac semper
praesentis oculis, sed ego etiam hoc contentus sum,
ut sic facias, quaecumque facies, tamquam spectet
6 aliquis ; omnia nobis mala solitudo persuadet. Cum
iam profeceris tantum, ut sit tibi etiam tui reverentia,
licebit dimittas paedagogum ; interim aliquorum te
auctoritate custodi, aut Cato ille sit aut Scipio aut
Laelius aut talis, cuius[1] interventu perditi quoque
homines vitia supprimerent, dum te efficis eum, cum
quo peccare non audeas. Cum hoc effeceris, et aliqua
coeperit apud te tui esse dignatio, incipiam tibi permittere, quod idem suadet Epicurus : "Tunc praecipue in te ipse secede, cum esse cogeris in turba."

[1] *aut talis, cuius* Disselbeck and Buecheler ; *aut alicuius* (*aut cuius*) MSS.

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[a] Frag. 211 Usener. [b] Frag. 209 Usener.

But do you yourself, as indeed you are doing, show me that you are stout-hearted; lighten your baggage for the march. None of our possessions is essential. Let us return to the law of nature; for then riches are laid up for us. The things which we actually need are free for all, or else cheap; nature craves only bread and water. No one is poor according to this standard; when a man has limited his desires within these bounds, he can challenge the happiness of Jove himself, as Epicurus says. I must insert in this letter one or two more of his sayings:[a] "Do everything as if Epicurus were watching you." There is no real doubt that it is good for one to have appointed a guardian over oneself, and to have someone whom you may look up to, someone whom you may regard as a witness of your thoughts. It is, indeed, nobler by far to live as you would live under the eyes of some good man, always at your side; but nevertheless I am content if you only act, in whatever you do, as you would act if anyone at all were looking on; because solitude prompts us to all kinds of evil. And when you have progressed so far that you have also respect for yourself, you may send away your attendant; but until then, set as a guard over yourself the authority of some man, whether your choice be the great Cato, or Scipio, or Laelius,—or any man in whose presence even abandoned wretches would check their bad impulses. Meantime, you are engaged in making of yourself the sort of person in whose company you would not dare to sin. When this aim has been accomplished and you begin to hold yourself in some esteem, I shall gradually allow you to do what Epicurus, in another passage, suggests:[b] "The time when you should most of all withdraw into yourself is when you are forced to be in a crowd."

7 Dissimilem te fieri multis oportet. Dum tibi tutum non est[1] ad te recedere, circumspice singulos; nemo est, cui non satius sit cum quolibet esse quam secum. "Tunc praecipue in te ipse secede, cum esse cogeris in turba"; si bonus vir, si quietus, si temperans. Alioquin in turbam tibi a te recedendum est; istic malo viro propius es. VALE.

XXVI.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Modo dicebam tibi, in conspectu esse me senectutis; iam vereor, ne senectutem post me reliquerim. Aliud iam his annis, certe huic corpori, vocabulum convenit, quoniam quidem senectus lassae aetatis, non fractae, nomen est; inter decrepitos me numera et extrema tangentis.

2 Gratias tamen mihi apud te ago; non sentio in animo aetatis iniuriam, cum sentiam in corpore. Tantum vitia et vitiorum ministeria senuerunt; viget animus et gaudet non multum sibi esse cum corpore. Magnam partem oneris sui posuit. Exultat et mihi facit controversiam de senectute. Hunc ait esse
3 florem suum. Credamus illi; bono suo utatur. Ire in cogitationem iubet et dispicere, quid ex hac

[1] *est* Muretus; *sit* MSS.

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[a] Because "solitude prompts to evil," § 5.

[b] See the twelfth letter. Seneca was by this time at least sixty-five years old, and probably older.

You ought to make yourself of a different stamp from the multitude. Therefore, while it is not yet safe to withdraw into solitude,[a] seek out certain individuals; for everyone is better off in the company of somebody or other,—no matter who,—than in his own company alone. "The time when you should most of all withdraw into yourself is when you are forced to be in a crowd." Yes, provided that you are a good, tranquil, and self-restrained man; otherwise, you had better withdraw into a crowd in order to get away from your self. Alone, you are too close to a rascal. Farewell.

XXVI. ON OLD AGE AND DEATH

I was just lately telling you that I was within sight of old age.[b] I am now afraid that I have left old age behind me. For some other word would now apply to my years, or at any rate to my body; since old age means a time of life that is weary rather than crushed. You may rate me in the worn-out class,—of those who are nearing the end.

Nevertheless, I offer thanks to myself, with you as witness; for I feel that age has done no damage to my mind, though I feel its effects on my constitution. Only my vices, and the outward aids to these vices, have reached senility; my mind is strong and rejoices that it has but slight connexion with the body. It has laid aside the greater part of its load. It is alert; it takes issue with me on the subject of old age; it declares that old age is its time of bloom. Let me take it at its word, and let it make the most of the advantages it possesses. The mind bids me do some thinking and consider how much of this

tranquillitate ac modestia morum sapientiae debeam, quid aetati, et diligenter excutere, quae non possim facere, quae nolim †prodesse habiturus ad qui si nolim quidquid non posse me gaudeo†.[1] Quae enim querella est, quod incommodum, si quidquid debebat[2]
4 desinere, defecit? "Incommodum summum est," inquis, "minui et deperire et, ut proprie dicam, liquescere. Non enim subito inpulsi ac prostrati sumus; carpimur. Singuli dies aliquid subtrahunt viribus."

Ecquis[3] exitus est melior quam in finem suum natura solvente dilabi? Non quia aliquid mali est[4] ictus et e vita repentinus excessus, sed quia lenis haec est via, subduci. Ego certe, velut adpropinquet experimentum et ille laturus sententiam de omnibus annis meis dies venerit, ita me observo et adloquor:
5 "Nihil est," inquam, "adhuc, quod aut rebus aut verbis exhibuimus. Levia sunt ista et fallacia pignora animi multisque involuta lenociniis; quid profecerim, morti crediturus sum. Non timide itaque conponor ad illum diem, quo remotis strophis ac fucis de me iudicaturus sum, utrum loquar fortia an sentiam, numquid simulatio fuerit et mimus, quicquid contra fortunam iactavi verborum contumacium.
6 Remove existimationem hominum; dubia semper est et in partem utramque dividitur. Remove studia

[1] This passage is hopelessly corrupt. The course of the argument requires something like this: For it is just as much to my advantage not to be able to do what I do not want to do, as it is to be able to do whatever gives me pleasure.

[2] *debebat* Fickert and Madvig; *debeat* MSS.

[3] *ecquis* Madvig; *hec quis* and *et quis* MSS.

[4] *aliquid mali ictus* pL; *est*, found in a few less important MSS., is inserted by Hense.

peace of spirit and moderation of character I owe to wisdom and how much to my time of life; it bids me distinguish carefully what I cannot do and what I do not want to do. . . . For why should one complain or regard it as a disadvantage, if powers which ought to come to an end have failed? "But," you say, "it is the greatest possible disadvantage to be worn out and to die off, or rather, if I may speak literally, to melt away! For we are not suddenly smitten and laid low; we are worn away, and every day reduces our powers to a certain extent."

But is there any better end to it all than to glide off to one's proper haven, when nature slips the cable? Not that there is anything painful in a shock and a sudden departure from existence; it is merely because this other way of departure is easy,—a gradual withdrawal. I, at any rate, as if the test were at hand and the day were come which is to pronounce its decision concerning all the years of my life, watch over myself and commune thus with myself: "The showing which we have made up to the present time, in word or deed, counts for nothing. All this is but a trifling and deceitful pledge of our spirit, and is wrapped in much charlatanism. I shall leave it to Death to determine what progress I have made. Therefore with no faint heart I am making ready for the day when, putting aside all stage artifice and actor's rouge, I am to pass judgment upon myself, — whether I am merely declaiming brave sentiments, or whether I really feel them; whether all the bold threats I have uttered against fortune are a pretence and a farce. Put aside the opinion of the world; it is always wavering and always takes both sides. Put aside the studies which you have pursued throughout your life;

tota vita tractata; mors de te pronuntiatura est. Ita dico: disputationes et litterata conloquia et ex praeceptis sapientium verba collecta et eruditus sermo non ostendunt verum robur animi. Est enim oratio etiam timidissimis audax. Quid egeris, tunc apparebit, cum animam ages. Accipio condicionem,
7 non reformido iudicium." Haec mecum loquor, sed tecum quoque me locutum puta. Iuvenior es; quid refert? Non dinumerantur anni. Incertum est, quo loco te mors expectet; itaque tu illam omni loco expecta.

8 Desinere iam volebam et manus spectabat ad clausulam; sed conficienda sunt sacra et huic epistulae viaticum dandum est. Puta me non dicere, unde sumpturus sum mutuum: scis cuius arca utar. Expecta me pusillum, et de domo fiet numeratio; interim commodabit Epicurus, qui ait: "Meditare mortem" vel si commodius sit "transire ad deos[1]."
9 Hic patet sensus: egregia res est mortem condiscere. Supervacuum forsitan putas id discere, quod semel utendum est. Hoc est ipsum, quare meditari debeamus; semper discendum est, quod an sciamus,
10 experiri non possumus. "Meditare mortem"; qui hoc dicit, meditari libertatem iubet. Qui mori didicit, servire dedidicit; supra omnem potentiam est, certe extra omnem. Quid ad illum carcer et custodia et claustra? Liberum ostium habet. Una

[1] *ad deos* Rossbach; *at* (*ad*) *nos* MSS.

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[a] *i.e.*, the money will be brought from home,—the saying will be one of Seneca's own.
[b] Epicurus, Frag. 205 Usener.

Death will deliver the final judgment in your case. This is what I mean: your debates and learned talks, your maxims gathered from the teachings of the wise, your cultured conversation,—all these afford no proof of the real strength of your soul. Even the most timid man can deliver a bold speech. What you have done in the past will be manifest only at the time when you draw your last breath. I accept the terms; I do not shrink from the decision." This is what I say to myself, but I would have you think that I have said it to you also. You are younger; but what does that matter? There is no fixed count of our years. You do not know where death awaits you; so be ready for it everywhere.

I was just intending to stop, and my hand was making ready for the closing sentence; but the rites are still to be performed and the travelling money for the letter disbursed. And just assume that I am not telling where I intend to borrow the necessary sum; you know upon whose coffers I depend. Wait for me but a moment, and I will pay you from my own account;[a] meanwhile, Epicurus will oblige me with these words:[b] "Think on death," or rather, if you prefer the phrase, on "migration to heaven." The meaning is clear,—that it is a wonderful thing to learn thoroughly how to die. You may deem it superfluous to learn a text that can be used only once; but that is just the reason why we ought to think on a thing. When we can never prove whether we really know a thing, we must always be learning it. "Think on death." In saying this, he bids us think on freedom. He who has learned to die has unlearned slavery; he is above any external power, or, at any rate, he is beyond it. What terrors have prisons and bonds and bars for him? His way

est catena, quae nos alligatos tenet, amor vitae, qui ut non est abiciendus, ita minuendus est, ut si quando res exiget, nihil nos detineat nec inpediat, quo minus parati simus, quod quandoque faciendum est, statim facere. VALE.

XXVII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 "Tu me," inquis, "mones? Iam enim te ipse monuisti, iam correxisti? Ideo aliorum emendationi vacas?" Non sum tam inprobus, ut curationes aeger obeam, sed tamquam in eodem valitudinario iaceam, de communi tecum malo conloquor et remedia communico. Sic itaque me audi, tamquam mecum loquar. In secretum te meum admitto et te adhibito mecum
2 exigo. Clamo mihi ipse: "Numera annos tuos, et pudebit[1] eadem velle, quae volueras puer, eadem parare. Hoc denique tibi circa mortis diem praesta: moriantur ante te vitia. Dimitte istas voluptates turbidas, magno luendas[2]; non venturae tantum, sed praeteritae nocent. Quemadmodum scelera etiam si non sint deprehensa cum fierent, sollicitudo non cum ipsis abit; ita inprobarum voluptatum etiam post ipsas paenitentia est. Non sunt solidae, non sunt

[1] After *pudebit* Thomas and Hense[2] insert *te*.
[2] *luendas* Pincianus; *levandas* or *leundas* or *leuaturas* MSS.

out is clear. There is only one chain which binds us to life, and that is the love of life. The chain may not be cast off, but it may be rubbed away, so that, when necessity shall demand, nothing may retard or hinder us from being ready to do at once that which at some time we are bound to do. Farewell.

XXVII. ON THE GOOD WHICH ABIDES

"What," say you, "are you giving me advice? Indeed, have you already advised yourself, already corrected your own faults? Is this the reason why you have leisure to reform other men?" No, I am not so shameless as to undertake to cure my fellow-men when I am ill myself. I am, however, discussing with you troubles which concern us both, and sharing the remedy with you, just as if we were lying ill in the same hospital. Listen to me, therefore, as you would if I were talking to myself. I am admitting you to my inmost thoughts, and am having it out with myself, merely making use of you as my pretext. I keep crying out to myself: "Count your years, and you will be ashamed to desire and pursue the same things you desired in your boyhood days. Of this one thing make sure against your dying day,—let your faults die before you die. Away with those disordered pleasures, which must be dearly paid for; it is not only those which are to come that harm me, but also those which have come and gone. Just as crimes, even if they have not been detected when they were committed, do not allow anxiety to end with them; so with guilty pleasures, regret remains even after the pleasures are over. They are not substantial, they are not trustworthy; even if they

3 fideles; etiam si non nocent, fugiunt. Aliquod
potius bonum mansurum circumspice. Nullum autem
est, nisi quod animus ex se sibi invenit. Sola virtus
praestat gaudium perpetuum, securum; etiam si quid
obstat, nubium modo intervenit, quae infra feruntur
nec umquam diem vincunt."
4 Quando ad hoc gaudium pervenire continget? Non
quidem cessatur adhuc, sed festinetur.[1] Multum
restat operis, in quod ipse necesse est vigiliam, ipse
laborem tuum inpendas, si effici cupis. Delegationem
5 res ista non recipit. Aliud litterarum genus adiutorium admittit. Calvisius Sabinus memoria nostra
fuit dives. Et patrimonium habebat libertini et ingenium; numquam vidi hominem beatum indecentius.
Huic memoria tam mala erat, ut illi nomen modo
Vlixis excideret, modo Achillis, modo Priami, quos
tam bene[2] quam paedagogos nostros novimus. Nemo
vetulus nomenclator, qui nomina non reddit, sed
inponit, tam perperam tribus quam ille Troianos et
Achivos persalutabat. Nihilominus eruditus volebat
6 videri. Hanc itaque conpendiariam excogitavit:
magna summa emit servos, unum, qui Homerum
teneret, alterum, qui Hesiodum; novem praeterea
lyricis singulos adsignavit. Magno emisse illum non
est quod mireris; non invenerat, faciendos locavit.
Postquam haec familia illi conparata est, coepit con-

[1] *festinetur* Gronovius; *festinatur* MSS.
[2] *noverat* after *bene* bracketed by Hense, after Gronovius.

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[a] *i.e.*, ordinary studies, or literature, as contrasted with philosophy.

[b] Compare with the following the vulgarities of Trimalchio in the Satire of Petronius, and the bad taste of Nasidienus in Horace (*Sat.* ii. 8).

[c] At the *salutatio*, or morning call. The position of *nomenclator*, "caller-of-names," was originally devoted more strictly to political purposes. Here it is primarily social.

do not harm us, they are fleeting. Cast about rather for some good which will abide. But there can be no such good except as the soul discovers it for itself within itself. Virtue alone affords everlasting and peace-giving joy; even if some obstacle arise, it is but like an intervening cloud, which floats beneath the sun but never prevails against it."

When will it be your lot to attain this joy? Thus far, you have indeed not been sluggish, but you must quicken your pace. Much toil remains; to confront it, you must yourself lavish all your waking hours, and all your efforts, if you wish the result to be accomplished. This matter cannot be delegated to someone else. The other kind of literary activity[a] admits of outside assistance. Within our own time there was a certain rich man named Calvisius Sabinus; he had the bank-account and the brains of a freedman.[b] I never saw a man whose good fortune was a greater offence against propriety. His memory was so faulty that he would sometimes forget the name of Ulysses, or Achilles, or Priam,—names which we know as well as we know those of our own attendants. No major-domo in his dotage, who cannot give men their right names, but is compelled to invent names for them,—no such man, I say, calls off the names[c] of his master's tribesmen so atrociously as Sabinus used to call off the Trojan and Achaean heroes. But none the less did he desire to appear learned. So he devised this short cut to learning: he paid fabulous prices for slaves,—one to know Homer by heart and another to know Hesiod; he also delegated a special slave to each of the nine lyric poets. You need not wonder that he paid high prices for these slaves; if he did not find them ready to hand he had them made to order. After collecting this retinue,

vivas suos inquietare. Habebat ad pedes hos, a quibus subinde cum peteret versus, quos referret,
7 saepe in medio verbo excidebat. Suasit illi Satellius Quadratus, stultorum divitum adrosor, et quod sequitur, adrisor, et quod duobus his adiunctum est, derisor, ut grammaticos haberet analectas. Cum dixisset Sabinus centenis milibus sibi constare singulos servos; "Minoris," inquit, "totidem scrinia emisses." Ille tamen in ea opinione erat, ut putaret se scire, quod
8 quisquam in domo sua sciret. Idem Satellius illum hortari coepit, ut luctaretur, hominem aegrum, pallidum, gracilem. Cum Sabinus respondisset: "Et quomodo possum? Vix vivo," "Noli, obsecro te," inquit, "istuc dicere; non vides, quam multos servos valentissimos habeas?" Bona mens nec commodatur nec emitur. Et puto, si venalis esset, non haberet emptorem. At mala cotidie emitur.

9 Sed accipe iam quod debeo et vale. "Divitiae sunt ad legem naturae conposita paupertas." Hoc saepe dicit Epicurus aliter atque aliter; sed numquam nimis dicitur, quod numquam satis discitur. Quibusdam remedia monstranda, quibusdam inculcanda sunt. VALE.

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[a] *i.e.*, all the ideas that dropped out of the head of Sabinus. The slave who picked up the crumbs was called *analecta*.

[b] Epicurus, Frag. 477 Usener.

he began to make life miserable for his guests; he would keep these fellows at the foot of his couch, and ask them from time to time for verses which he might repeat, and then frequently break down in the middle of a word. Satellius Quadratus, a feeder, and consequently a fawner, upon addle-pated millionaires, and also (for this quality goes with the other two) a flouter of them, suggested to Sabinus that he should have philologists to gather up the bits.[a] Sabinus remarked that each slave cost him one hundred thousand sesterces; Satellius replied: "You might have bought as many book-cases for a smaller sum." But Sabinus held to the opinion that what any member of his household knew, he himself knew also. This same Satellius began to advise Sabinus to take wrestling lessons,—sickly, pale, and thin as he was. Sabinus answered: "How can I? I can scarcely stay alive now." "Don't say that, I implore you," replied the other, "consider how many perfectly healthy slaves you have!" No man is able to borrow or buy a sound mind; in fact, as it seems to me, even though sound minds were for sale, they would not find buyers. Depraved minds, however, are bought and sold every day.

But let me pay off my debt and say farewell: "Real wealth is poverty adjusted to the law of Nature."[b] Epicurus has this saying in various ways and contexts; but it can never be repeated too often, since it can never be learned too well. For some persons the remedy should be merely prescribed; in the case of others, it should be forced down their throats. Farewell.

XXVIII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Hoc tibi soli putas accidisse et admiraris quasi rem novam, quod peregrinatione tam longa et tot locorum varietatibus non discussisti tristitiam gravitatemque mentis? Animum debes mutare, non caelum.[a] Licet vastum traieceris mare, licet, ut ait Vergilius noster,

> Terraeque urbesque recedant,[b]

2 sequentur te, quocumque perveneris, vitia. Hoc idem querenti cuidam Socrates ait: "Quid miraris nihil tibi peregrinationes prodesse, cum te circumferas? Premit te eadem causa, quae expulit." Quid terrarum iuvare novitas potest? Quid cognitio urbium aut locorum? In inritum cedit ista iactatio. Quaeris quare te fuga ista non adiuvet? Tecum fugis. Onus animi deponendum est; non ante tibi
3 ullus placebit locus. Talem nunc esse habitum tuum cogita, qualem Vergilius noster vatis inducit iam concitatae et instigatae multumque habentis in se spiritus non sui:

> Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
> Excussisse deum.[c]

Vadis huc illuc, ut excutias insidens pondus, quod

[a] *Cf.* Horace, *Ep.* i. 11. 27 *caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.*
[b] *Aeneid*, iii. 72.
[c] *Aeneid*, vi. 78 f.

XXVIII. ON TRAVEL AS A CURE FOR DISCONTENT

Do you suppose that you alone have had this experience? Are you surprised, as if it were a novelty, that after such long travel and so many changes of scene you have not been able to shake off the gloom and heaviness of your mind? You need a change of soul rather than a change of climate.[a] Though you may cross vast spaces of sea, and though, as our Vergil[b] remarks,

> Lands and cities are left astern,

your faults will follow you whithersoever you travel. Socrates made the same remark to one who complained; he said: "Why do you wonder that globe-trotting does not help you, seeing that you always take yourself with you? The reason which set you wandering is ever at your heels." What pleasure is there in seeing new lands? Or in surveying cities and spots of interest? All your bustle is useless. Do you ask why such flight does not help you? It is because you flee along with yourself. You must lay aside the burdens of the mind; until you do this, no place will satisfy you. Reflect that your present behaviour is like that of the prophetess whom Vergil describes:[c] she is excited and goaded into fury, and contains within herself much inspiration that is not her own:

> The priestess raves, if haply she may shake
> The great god from her heart.

You wander hither and yon, to rid yourself of the

ipsa iactatione incommodius fit, sicut in navi onera inmota minus urgent, inaequaliter convoluta citius eam partem, in quam incubuere, demergunt. Quicquid facis, contra te facis et motu ipso noces tibi; aegrum enim concutis.

4 At cum istud exemeris malum, omnis mutatio loci iucunda fiet; in ultimas expellaris terras licebit, in quolibet barbariae angulo conloceris, hospitalis tibi illa qualiscumque sedes erit. Magis quis veneris quam quo, interest, et ideo nulli loco addicere debemus animum. Cum hac persuasione vivendum est: "Non sum uni angulo natus, patria mea totus
5 hic mundus est." Quod si liqueret tibi, non admirareris nil adiuvari te regionum varietatibus, in quas subinde priorum taedio migras. Prima enim quaeque placuisset, si omnem tuam crederes. Nunc non[1] peregrinaris, sed erras et ageris ac locum ex loco mutas, cum illud, quod quaeris, bene vivere, omni
6 loco positum sit. Num quid tam turbidum fieri potest quam forum? Ibi quoque licet quiete vivere, si necesse sit. Sed si liceat disponere se, conspectum quoque et viciniam fori procul fugiam. Nam ut loca gravia etiam firmissimam valitudinem temptant, ita bonae quoque menti necdum adhuc perfectae et convalescenti sunt aliqua parum salubria.

[1] *nunc non* Schweighäuser; *nunc* pL; *non* other MSS.

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[a] *i.e.*, had you been able to say *patria mea totus mundus est*.
[b] *Cf.* Horace, *Ep.* i. 11. 28—

navibus atque
Quadrigis petimus bene vivere; quod petis, hic est.

burden that rests upon you, though it becomes more troublesome by reason of your very restlessness, just as in a ship the cargo when stationary makes no trouble, but when it shifts to this side or that, it causes the vessel to heel more quickly in the direction where it has settled. Anything you do tells against you, and you hurt yourself by your very unrest; for you are shaking up a sick man.

That trouble once removed, all change of scene will become pleasant; though you may be driven to the uttermost ends of the earth, in whatever corner of a savage land you may find yourself, that place, however forbidding, will be to you a hospitable abode. The person you are matters more than the place to which you go; for that reason we should not make the mind a bondsman to any one place. Live in this belief: "I am not born for any one corner of the universe; this whole world is my country." If you saw this fact clearly, you would not be surprised at getting no benefit from the fresh scenes to which you roam each time through weariness of the old scenes. For the first would have pleased you in each case, had you believed it wholly yours.[a] As it is, however, you are not journeying; you are drifting and being driven, only exchanging one place for another, although that which you seek,—to live well,—is found everywhere.[b] Can there be any spot so full of confusion as the Forum? Yet you can live quietly even there, if necessary. Of course, if one were allowed to make one's own arrangements, I should flee far from the very sight and neighbourhood of the Forum. For just as pestilential places assail even the strongest constitution, so there are some places which are also unwholesome for a healthy mind which is not yet quite sound, though recover-

7 Dissentio ab his, qui in fluctus medios eunt et tumultuosam probantes vitam cotidie cum difficultatibus rerum magno animo conluctantur. Sapiens feret ista, non eliget, et malet in pace esse quam in pugna. Non multum prodest vitia sua proiecisse, si
8 cum alienis rixandum est. "Triginta," inquit,[1] "tyranni Socraten circumsteterunt nec potuerunt animum eius infringere." Quid interest, quot domini sint? Servitus una est. Hanc qui contempsit, in quantalibet turba dominantium liber est.

9 Tempus est desinere, sed si prius portorium solvero. "Initium est salutis notitia peccati." Egregie mihi hoc dixisse videtur Epicurus. Nam qui peccare se nescit, corrigi non vult; deprehendas
10 te oportet, antequam emendes. Quidam vitiis gloriantur; tu existimas aliquid de remedio cogitare, qui mala sua virtutum loco numerant? Ideo quantum potes, te ipse coargue, inquire in te; accusatoris primum partibus fungere, deinde iudicis, novissime deprecatoris. Aliquando te offende. Vale.

XXIX.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 De Marcellino nostro quaeris et vis scire, quid agat. Raro ad nos venit, non ulla alia ex causa quam quod audire verum timet, a quo periculo iam abest.

[1] *inquit* p; *inquis* LPb.

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[a] Frag. 522 Usener.
[b] *i.e.*, refuse your own intercession.

ing from its ailment. I disagree with those who strike out into the midst of the billows and, welcoming a stormy existence, wrestle daily in hardihood of soul with life's problems. The wise man will endure all that, but will not choose it; he will prefer to be at peace rather than at war. It helps little to have cast out your own faults if you must quarrel with those of others. Says one: "There were thirty tyrants surrounding Socrates, and yet they could not break his spirit"; but what does it matter how many masters a man has? "Slavery" has no plural; and he who has scorned it is free,—no matter amid how large a mob of over-lords he stands.

It is time to stop, but not before I have paid duty. "The knowledge of sin is the beginning of salvation." This saying of Epicurus[a] seems to me to be a noble one. For he who does not know that he has sinned does not desire correction; you must discover yourself in the wrong before you can reform yourself. Some boast of their faults. Do you think that the man has any thought of mending his ways who counts over his vices as if they were virtues? Therefore, as far as possible, prove yourself guilty, hunt up charges against yourself; play the part, first of accuser, then of judge, last of intercessor. At times be harsh with yourself.[b] Farewell.

XXIX. ON THE CRITICAL CONDITION OF MARCELLINUS

You have been inquiring about our friend Marcellinus and you desire to know how he is getting along. He seldom comes to see me, for no other reason than that he is afraid to hear the truth, and at present he

Nulli enim nisi audituro dicendum est. Ideo de Diogene nec minus de aliis Cynicis, qui libertate promiscua usi sunt et obvios monuerunt, dubitari solet,
2 an hoc facere debuerint. Quid enim, si quis surdos obiurget aut natura morbove mutos? "Quare," inquis, "verbis parcam? Gratuita sunt. Non possum scire, an ei profuturus sim, quem admoneo; illud scio, alicui me profuturum si multos admonuero. Spargenda manus est.[1] Non potest fieri, ut non aliquando succedat multa temptanti."

3 Hoc, mi Lucili, non existimo magno viro faciendum; diluitur eius auctoritas nec habet apud eos satis ponderis, quos posset minus obsolefacta corrigere. Sagittarius non aliquando ferire debet, sed aliquando deerrare. Non est ars, quae ad effectum casu venit. Sapientia ars est; certum petat, eligat profecturos, ab is, quos desperavit, recedat, non tamen cito relinquat et in ipsa desperatione extrema remedia temptet.

4 Marcellinum nostrum ego nondum despero. Etiamnunc servari potest, sed si cito illi manus porrigitur. Est quidem periculum, ne porrigentem trahat; magna in illo ingenii vis est, sed iam tendentis in pravum. Nihilominus adibo hoc peri-
5 culum et audebo illi mala sua ostendere. Faciet

[1] So the MSS.; otherwise Hense would read *spargendum plena manu est.*

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[a] The usual expression is *plena manu spargere*, "with full hand," *cf. Ep.* cxx. 10. In the famous saying of Corinna to Pindar: "Sow with the hand and not with the sack," the idea is "sparingly," and not, as here, "bountifully."

is removed from any danger of hearing it; for one must not talk to a man unless he is willing to listen. That is why it is often doubted whether Diogenes and the other Cynics, who employed an undiscriminating freedom of speech and offered advice to any who came in their way, ought to have pursued such a plan. For what if one should chide the deaf or those who are speechless from birth or by illness? But you answer: "Why should I spare words? They cost nothing. I cannot know whether I shall help the man to whom I give advice; but I know well that I shall help someone if I advise many. I must scatter this advice by the handful.[a] It is impossible that one who tries often should not sometime succeed."

This very thing, my dear Lucilius, is, I believe, exactly what a great-souled man ought not to do; his influence is weakened; it has too little effect upon those whom it might have set right if it had not grown so stale. The archer ought not to hit the mark only sometimes; he ought to miss it only sometimes. That which takes effect by chance is not an art. Now wisdom is an art; it should have a definite aim, choosing only those who will make progress, but withdrawing from those whom it has come to regard as hopeless,—yet not abandoning them too soon, and just when the case is becoming hopeless trying drastic remedies.

As to our friend Marcellinus, I have not yet lost hope. He can still be saved, but the helping hand must be offered soon. There is indeed danger that he may pull his helper down; for there is in him a native character of great vigour, though it is already inclining to wickedness. Nevertheless I shall brave this danger and be bold enough to show him his

quod solet; advocabit illas facetias, quae risum evocare lugentibus possunt, et in se primum, deinde in nos iocabitur. Omnia, quae dicturus sum, occupabit. Scrutabitur scholas nostras et obiciet philosophis congiaria, amicas, gulam. Ostendet mihi alium in adulterio, alium in popina, alium in aula.
6 Ostendet mihi M. Lepidi[1] philosophum Aristonem, qui in gestatione disserebat. Hoc enim ad edendas operas tempus acceperat. De cuius secta cum quaereretur, Scaurus ait: "Utique Peripateticus non est." De eodem cum consuleretur Iulius Graecinus, vir egregius, quid sentiret, "Non possum," inquit, "tibi dicere; nescio enim, quid de gradu faciat,"
7 tamquam de essedario interrogaretur. Hos mihi circulatores, qui philosophiam honestius neglexissent quam vendunt, in faciem ingeret. Constitui tamen contumelias perpeti; moveat ille mihi risum, ego fortasse illi lacrimas movebo, aut si ridere perseverabit, gaudebo tamquam in malis, quod illi genus insaniae hilare contigerit. Sed non est ista hilaritas longa. Observa; videbis eosdem intra exiguum
8 tempus acerrime ridere et acerrime rabere. Propositum est adgredi illum et ostendere, quanto pluris fuerit, quom multis minoris videretur. Vitia eius etiam si non excidero, inhibebo; non desinent, sed

[1] *Lepidi* Erasmus (from an unknown MS.); *lepidum* all known MSS.

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[a] The *essedarius* fought from a car. When his adversary forced him out of his car, he was compelled to continue the fight on foot, like an unhorsed knight.

faults. He will act in his usual way; he will have recourse to his wit,—the wit that can call forth smiles even from mourners. He will turn the jest, first against himself, and then against me. He will forestall every word which I am about to utter. He will quiz our philosophic systems; he will accuse philosophers of accepting doles, keeping mistresses, and indulging their appetites. He will point out to me one philosopher who has been caught in adultery, another who haunts the cafés, and another who appears at court. He will bring to my notice Aristo, the philosopher of Marcus Lepidus, who used to hold discussions in his carriage; for that was the time which he had taken for editing his researches, so that Scaurus said of him when asked to what school he belonged: "At any rate, he isn't one of the Walking Philosophers." Julius Graecinus, too, a man of distinction, when asked for an opinion on the same point, replied: "I cannot tell you; for I don't know what he does when dismounted," as if the query referred to a chariot-gladiator.[a] It is mountebanks of that sort, for whom it would be more creditable to have left philosophy alone than to traffic in her, whom Marcellinus will throw in my teeth. But I have decided to put up with taunts; he may stir my laughter, but I perchance shall stir him to tears; or, if he persist in his jokes, I shall rejoice, so to speak, in the midst of sorrow, because he is blessed with such a merry sort of lunacy. But that kind of merriment does not last long. Observe such men, and you will note that within a short space of time they laugh to excess and rage to excess. It is my plan to approach him and to show him how much greater was his worth when many thought it less. Even though I shall not root out his faults, I shall

intermittent. Fortasse autem et desinent, si intermittendi consuetudinem fecerint. Non est hoc ipsum fastidiendum, quoniam quidem graviter adfectis
9 sanitatis loco est bona remissio. Dum me illi paro, tu interim, qui potes, qui intellegis, unde quo evaseris, et ex eo suspicaris, quousque sis evasurus, compone mores tuos, attolle animum, adversus formidata consiste. Numerare eos noli, qui tibi metum faciunt. Nonne videatur stultus, si quis multitudinem eo loco timeat, per quem transitus singulis est? Aeque ad tuam mortem multis aditus non est, licet illam multi minentur. Sic istuc natura disposuit: spiritum tibi tam unus eripiet quam unus dedit.

10 Si pudorem haberes, ultimam mihi pensionem remisisses. Sed ne ego quidem me sordide geram in finem aeris alieni et tibi quod debeo, inpingam. "Numquam volui populo placere. Nam quae ego scio, non probat populus; quae probat populus, ego
11 nescio." "Quis hoc?" inquis, tamquam nescias, cui imperem[1]; Epicurus. Sed idem hoc omnes tibi ex omni domo conclamabunt, Peripatetici, Academici, Stoici, Cynici. Quis enim placere populo potest, cui placet virtus? Malis artibus popularis favor quaeritur. Similem te illis facias oportet. Non probabunt, nisi agnoverint. Multo autem ad rem

[1] *imperem* and *imperim* MSS.; *imputem* Rossbach. Buecheler conjectures *nescias, aes cui imperem,* "you did not know the man upon whom I am levying for a loan."

[a] Epicurus, Frag. 187 Usener.

put a check upon them; they will not cease, but they will stop for a time; and perhaps they will even cease, if they get the habit of stopping. This is a thing not to be despised, since to men who are seriously stricken the blessing of relief is a substitute for health. So while I prepare myself to deal with Marcellinus, do you in the meantime, who are able, and who understand whence and whither you have made your way, and who for that reason have an inkling of the distance yet to go, regulate your character, rouse your courage, and stand firm in the face of things which have terrified you. Do not count the number of those who inspire fear in you. Would you not regard as foolish one who was afraid of a multitude in a place where only one at a time could pass? Just so, there are not many who have access to you to slay you, though there are many who threaten you with death. Nature has so ordered it that, as only one has given you life, so only one will take it away.

If you had any shame, you would have let me off from paying the last instalment. Still, I shall not be niggardly either, but shall discharge my debts to the last penny and force upon you what I still owe: "I have never wished to cater to the crowd; for what I know, they do not approve, and what they approve, I do not know."[a] "Who said this?" you ask, as if you were ignorant whom I am pressing into service; it is Epicurus. But this same watchword rings in your ears from every sect,—Peripatetic, Academic, Stoic, Cynic. For who that is pleased by virtue can please the crowd? It takes trickery to win popular approval; and you must needs make yourself like unto them; they will withhold their approval if they do not recognize you as one of

magis pertinet, qualis tibi videaris quam qualis aliis. Conciliari nisi turpi ratione amor turpium non potest.
12 Quid ergo illa laudata et omnibus praeferenda artibus rebusque philosophia praestabit? Scilicet ut malis tibi placere quam populo, ut aestimes iudicia, non numeres, ut sine metu deorum hominumque vivas, ut aut vincas mala aut finias. Ceterum, si te videro celebrem secundis vocibus vulgi, si intrante te clamor et plausus, pantomimica ornamenta, obstrepuerint, si tota civitate te feminae puerique laudaverint, quidni ego tui miserear, cum sciam, quae via ad istum favorem ferat? Vale.

XXX.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Bassum Aufidium, virum optimum, vidi quassum, aetati[1] obluctantem. Sed iam plus illum degravat quam quod possit attolli; magno senectus et universo pondere incubuit. Scis illum semper infirmi corporis et exsucti fuisse. Diu illud continuit et, ut
2 verius dicam, continuavit[2]; subito defecit. Quemadmodum in nave, quae sentinam trahit, uni rimae aut alteri obsistitur, ubi plurimis locis laxari coepit et cedere, succurri non potest navigio dehiscenti; ita

[1] *vidi quassum, aetati* Hense; *vidquassum aetatu aetati* p; *vidi quassum aetate, aetati* Chatelain.
[2] *continuavit* Buecheler; *continiavit* p; *concinnavit* LPb.

themselves. However, what you think of yourself is much more to the point than what others think of you. The favour of ignoble men can be won only by ignoble means. What benefit, then, will that vaunted philosophy confer, whose praises we sing, and which, we are told, is to be preferred to every art and every possession? Assuredly, it will make you prefer to please yourself rather than the populace, it will make you weigh, and not merely count, men's judgments, it will make you live without fear of gods or men, it will make you either overcome evils or end them. Otherwise, if I see you applauded by popular acclamation, if your entrance upon the scene is greeted by a roar of cheering and clapping,—marks of distinction meet only for actors,—if the whole state, even the women and children, sing your praises, how can I help pitying you? For I know what pathway leads to such popularity. Farewell.

XXX. ON CONQUERING THE CONQUEROR

I have beheld Aufidius Bassus, that noble man, shattered in health and wrestling with his years. But they already bear upon him so heavily that he cannot be raised up; old age has settled down upon him with great,—yes, with its entire, weight. You know that his body was always delicate and sapless. For a long time he has kept it in hand, or, to speak more correctly, has kept it together; of a sudden it has collapsed. Just as in a ship that springs a leak, you can always stop the first or the second fissure, but when many holes begin to open and let in water, the gaping hull cannot be saved; similarly,

in senili corpore aliquatenus inbecillitas sustineri et fulciri potest. Ubi tamquam in putri aedificio omnis iunctura diducitur, et dum alia excipitur, alia discinditur, circumspiciendum est, quomodo exeas.

3 Bassus tamen noster alacer animo est. Hoc philosophia praestat, in conspectu mortis hilarem et in quocumque corporis habitu fortem laetumque nec deficientem, quamvis deficiatur. Magnus gubernator et scisso navigat velo, et, si exarmavit, tamen reliquias navigii aptat ad cursum. Hoc facit Bassus noster et eo animo vultuque finem suum spectat, quo alienum spectare nimis securi putares.

4 Magna res est, Lucili, haec et diu discenda, cum adventat hora illa inevitabilis, aequo animo abire. Alia genera mortis spei mixta sunt: desinit morbus, incendium extinguitur, ruina quos videbatur oppressura deposuit; mare quos hauserat, eadem vi, qua sorbebat, eiecit incolumes; gladium miles ab ipsa perituri cervice revocavit. Nil habet quod speret, quem senectus ducit ad mortem. Huic uni intercedi non potest. Nullo genere homines mollius moriuntur sed nec diutius.

5 Bassus noster videbatur mihi prosequi se et con-

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[a] *i.e.*, *exeas e vita*, "depart from life."

in an old man's body, there is a certain limit up to which you can sustain and prop its weakness. But when it comes to resemble a decrepit building,—when every joint begins to spread and while one is being repaired another falls apart,—then it is time for a man to look about him and consider how he may get out.[a]

But the mind of our friend Bassus is active. Philosophy bestows this boon upon us; it makes us joyful in the very sight of death, strong and brave no matter in what state the body may be, cheerful and never failing though the body fail us. A great pilot can sail even when his canvas is rent; if his ship be dismantled, he can yet put in trim what remains of her hull and hold her to her course. This is what our friend Bassus is doing; and he contemplates his own end with the courage and countenance which you would regard as undue indifference in a man who so contemplated another's.

This is a great accomplishment, Lucilius, and one which needs long practice to learn,—to depart calmly when the inevitable hour arrives. Other kinds of death contain an ingredient of hope: a disease comes to an end; a fire is quenched; falling houses have set down in safety those whom they seemed certain to crush; the sea has cast ashore unharmed those whom it had engulfed, by the same force through which it drew them down; the soldier has drawn back his sword from the very neck of his doomed foe. But those whom old age is leading away to death have nothing to hope for; old age alone grants no reprieve. No ending, to be sure, is more painless; but there is none more lingering.

Our friend Bassus seemed to me to be attending his own funeral, and laying out his own body for

ponere et vivere tamquam superstes sibi et sapienter ferre desiderium sui. Nam de morte multa loquitur et id agit sedulo, ut nobis persuadeat, si quid incommodi aut metus in hoc negotio est, morientis vitium esse, non mortis; non magis in ipsa quicquam esse
6 molestiae quam post ipsam. Tam demens autem est, qui timet, quod non est passurus, quam qui timet, quod non est sensurus. An quisquam hoc futurum credit, ut per quam nihil sentiatur, ea sentiatur? "Ergo," inquit, "mors adeo extra omne malum est, ut sit extra omnem malorum metum."

7 Haec ego scio et saepe dicta et saepe dicenda, sed neque cum legerem, aeque mihi profuerunt, neque cum audirem iis[1] dicentibus, qui negabant timenda, a quorum metu aberant; hic vero plurimum apud me auctoritatis habuit, cum loqueretur de
8 morte vicina. Dicam enim[2] quid sentiam: puto fortiorem esse eum, qui in ipsa morte est quam qui circa mortem. Mors enim admota etiam inperitis animum dedit non vitandi inevitabilia. Sic gladiator tota pugna timidissimus iugulum adversario praestat et errantem gladium sibi adtemperat. At illa, quae in propinquo est utique ventura, desiderat lentam animi firmitatem, quae est rarior nec potest nisi a sapiente praestari.

9 Libentissime itaque illum audiebam quasi ferentem

[1] *iis* Gertz; *his* P; *diis* pLb.
[2] *enim* Mentel; *etiam* pLPb.

[a] The defeated gladiator is supposed to be on his back, his opponent standing over him and about to deliver the final blow. As the blade wavers at the throat, searching for the jugular vein, the victim directs the point.

burial, and living almost as if he had survived his own death, and bearing with wise resignation his grief at his own departure. For he talks freely about death, trying hard to persuade us that if this process contains any element of discomfort or of fear, it is the fault of the dying person, and not of death itself; also, that there is no more inconvenience at the actual moment than there is after it is over. "And it is just as insane," he adds, "for a man to fear what will not happen to him, as to fear what he will not feel if it does happen." Or does anyone imagine it to be possible that the agency by which feeling is removed can be itself felt? "Therefore," says Bassus, "death stands so far beyond all evil that it is beyond all fear of evils."

I know that all this has often been said and should be often repeated; but neither when I read them were such precepts so effective with me, nor when I heard them from the lips of those who were at a safe distance from the fear of the things which they declared were not to be feared. But this old man had the greatest weight with me when he discussed death and death was near. For I must tell you what I myself think: I hold that one is braver at the very moment of death than when one is approaching death. For death, when it stands near us, gives even to inexperienced men the courage not to seek to avoid the inevitable. So the gladiator, who throughout the fight has been no matter how fainthearted, offers his throat to his opponent and directs the wavering blade to the vital spot.[a] But an end that is near at hand, and is bound to come, calls for tenacious courage of soul; this is a rarer thing, and none but the wise man can manifest it.

Accordingly, I listened to Bassus with the deepest

de morte sententiam et qualis esset eius natura velut
propius inspectae indicantem. Plus, ut puto, fidei
haberet apud te, plus ponderis, si quis revixisset et
in morte nihil mali esse narraret expertus; accessus
mortis quam perturbationem adferat, optime tibi hi
dicent, qui secundum illam steterunt, qui venientem
10 et viderunt et receperunt. Inter hos Bassum licet
numeres, qui nos decipi noluit. Is ait tam stultum
esse, qui mortem timeat, quam qui senectutem.
Nam quemadmodum senectus adulescentiam sequitur,
ita mors senectutem. Vivere noluit, qui mori non
vult. Vita enim cum exceptione mortis data est; ad
hanc itur. Quam ideo timere dementis est, quia
11 certa expectantur, dubia metuuntur! Mors necessi-
tatem habet aequam et invictam. Quis queri potest
in ea condicione se esse, in qua nemo non est?
Prima autem pars est aequitatis aequalitas.

Sed nunc supervacuum est naturae causam agere,
quae non aliam voluit legem nostram esse quam
suam; quicquid conposuit, resolvit, et quicquid re-
12 solvit, conponit iterum. Iam vero si cui contigit, ut
illum senectus leniter emitteret non repente avolsum
vitae, sed minutatim subductum; o ne illum agere
gratias dis omnibus decet, quod satiatus ad requiem
homini necessariam, lasso gratam perductus est.

pleasure; he was casting his vote concerning death and pointing out what sort of a thing it is when it is observed, so to speak, nearer at hand. I suppose that a man would have your confidence in a larger degree, and would have more weight with you, if he had come back to life and should declare from experience that there is no evil in death; and so, regarding the approach of death, those will tell you best what disquiet it brings who have stood in its path, who have seen it coming and have welcomed it. Bassus may be included among these men; and he had no wish to deceive us. He says that it is as foolish to fear death as to fear old age; for death follows old age precisely as old age follows youth. He who does not wish to die cannot have wished to live. For life is granted to us with the reservation that we shall die; to this end our path leads. Therefore, how foolish it is to fear it, since men simply await that which is sure, but fear only that which is uncertain! Death has its fixed rule,—equitable and unavoidable. Who can complain when he is governed by terms which include everyone? The chief part of equity, however, is equality.

But it is superfluous at the present time to plead Nature's cause; for she wishes our laws to be identical with her own; she but resolves that which she has compounded, and compounds again that which she has resolved. Moreover, if it falls to the lot of any man to be set gently adrift by old age,—not suddenly torn from life, but withdrawn bit by bit,—oh, verily he should thank the gods, one and all, because, after he has had his fill, he is removed to a rest which is ordained for mankind, a rest that is welcome to the weary. You may observe

Vides quosdam optantes mortem, et quidem magis quam rogari solet vita. Nescio utros existimem maiorem nobis animum dare, qui deposcunt mortem an qui hilares eam quietique opperiuntur, quoniam illud ex rabie interdum ac repentina indignatione fit, haec ex iudicio certo tranquillitas est. Venit aliquis ad mortem iratus; mortem venientem nemo hilaris excipit, nisi qui se ad illam diu composuerat.

13 Fateor ergo ad hominem mihi carum ex pluribus me causis frequentius venisse, ut scirem, an illum totiens eundem invenirem, numquid cum corporis viribus minueretur animi vigor. Qui sic crescebat illi, quomodo manifestior notari solet agitatorum laetitia, cum septimo spatio palmae adpropinquant.

14 Dicebat quidem ille Epicuri praeceptis obsequens, primum sperare se nullum dolorem esse in illo extremo anhelitu; si tamen esset, habere aliquantum in ipsa brevitate solacii. Nullum enim dolorem longum esse, qui magnus est. Ceterum succursurum sibi etiam in ipsa distractione animi corporisque, si cum cruciatu id fieret, post illum dolorem se dolere non posse. Non dubitare autem se, quin senilis anima in primis labris esset nec magna vi distraheretur a corpore. "Ignis, qui alentem[1] materiam occupavit, aqua et interdum ruina ex-

[1] *alentem* Cornelissen; *valentem* MSS.

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[a] *i.e.*, when on the home stretch.
[b] Frag. 503 Usener.

certain men who crave death even more earnestly than others are wont to beg for life. And I do not know which men give us greater courage,—those who call for death, or those who meet it cheerfully and tranquilly,—for the first attitude is sometimes inspired by madness and sudden anger, the second is the calm which results from fixed judgment. Before now men have gone to meet death in a fit of rage; but when death comes to meet him, no one welcomes it cheerfully, except the man who has long since composed himself for death.

I admit, therefore, that I have visited this dear friend of mine more frequently on many pretexts, but with the purpose of learning whether I should find him always the same, and whether his mental strength was perhaps waning in company with his bodily powers. But it was on the increase, just as the joy of the charioteer is wont to show itself more clearly when he is on the seventh round[a] of the course, and nears the prize. Indeed, he often said, in accord with the counsels of Epicurus[b]: "I hope, first of all, that there is no pain at the moment when a man breathes his last; but if there is, one will find an element of comfort in its very shortness. For no great pain lasts long. And at all events, a man will find relief at the very time when soul and body are being torn asunder, even though the process be accompanied by excruciating pain, in the thought that after this pain is over he can feel no more pain. I am sure, however, that an old man's soul is on his very lips, and that only a little force is necessary to disengage it from the body. A fire which has seized upon a substance that sustains it needs water to quench it, or, sometimes, the destruction of the building itself; but the fire

tinguendus est; ille, qui alimentis deficitur, sua
sponte subsidit."

15 Libenter haec, mi Lucili, audio non tamquam
nova, sed tamquam in rem praesentem perductus.
Quid ergo? Non multos spectavi abrumpentes
vitam? Ergo vero vidi, sed plus momenti apud me
habent, qui ad mortem veniunt sine odio vitae et
16 admittunt illam, non adtrahunt. Illud quidem aiebat
tormentum nostra nos sentire opera, quod tunc
trepidamus, cum prope a nobis esse credimus mortem.
A quo enim non prope est, parata omnibus locis
omnibusque momentis? "Sed consideremus," inquit,
"tunc, cum aliqua causa moriendi videtur accedere,
quanto aliae propiores sint, quae non timentur."
Hostis alicui mortem minabatur, hanc cruditas occu-
17 pavit. Si distinguere voluerimus causas metus nostri,
inveniemus alias esse, alias videri. Non mortem
timemus, sed cogitationem mortis. Ab ipsa enim
semper tantundem absumus. Ita si timenda mors
est, semper timenda est. Quod enim morti tempus
exemptum est?

18 Sed vereri debeo, ne tam longas epistulas peius
quam mortem oderis. Itaque finem faciam. Tu
tamen mortem ut numquam timeas, semper cogita.
Vale.

which lacks sustaining fuel dies away of its own accord."

I am glad to hear such words, my dear Lucilius,—not as new to me, but as leading me into the presence of an actual fact. And what then? Have I not seen many men break the thread of life? I have indeed seen such men; but those have more weight with me who approach death without any loathing for life, letting death in, so to speak, and not pulling it towards them. Bassus kept saying: "It is due to our own fault that we feel this torture, because we shrink from dying only when we believe that our end is near at hand." But who is not near death? It is ready for us in all places and at all times. "Let us consider," he went on to say, "when some agency of death seems imminent, how much nearer are other varieties of dying, which are not feared by us." A man is threatened with death by an enemy, but this form of death is anticipated by an attack of indigestion. And if we are willing to examine critically the various causes of our fear, we shall find that some exist, and others only seem to be. We do not fear death; we fear the thought of death. For death itself is always the same distance from us; wherefore, if it is to be feared at all, it is to be feared always. For what season of our life is exempt from death?

But what I really ought to fear is that you will hate this long letter worse than death itself; so I shall stop. Do you, however, always think on death in order that you may never fear it. Farewell.

XXXI.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Agnosco Lucilium meum; incipit, quem promi-
serat, exhibere. Sequere illum impetum animi, quo
ad optima quaeque calcatis popularibus bonis ibas.
Non desidero maiorem melioremque te fieri quam
moliebaris. Fundamenta tua multum loci occupave-
runt; tantum effice, quantum conatus es, et illa quae
2 tecum in animo tulisti, tracta. Ad summam sapiens
eris, si cluseris aures, quibus ceram parum est obdere;
firmiore spissamento opus est quam in sociis usum
Vlixem ferunt. Illa vox, quae timebatur, erat blanda,
non tamen publica, at haec, quae timenda est, non
ex uno scopulo, sed ex omni terrarum parte circum-
sonat. Praetervehere itaque non unum locum in-
sidiosa voluptate suspectum, sed omnes urbes. Surdum
te amantissimis tuis praesta; bono animo mala
precantur. Et si esse vis felix, deos ora, ne quid tibi
3 ex his, quae optantur, eveniat. Non sunt ista bona,
quae in te isti volunt congeri; unum bonum est,
quod beatae vitae causa et firmamentum est, sibi
fidere. Hoc autem contingere non potest, nisi con-
temptus est labor et in eorum numero habitus, quae
neque bona sunt neque mala. Fieri enim non potest,
ut una ulla res modo mala sit, modo bona, modo
4 levis et perferenda, modo expavescenda. Labor
bonum non est. Quid ergo est bonum? Laboris

[a] The argument is that work is not, in itself, a good; if it were, it would not be praiseworthy at one time and to be deprecated at another. It belongs, therefore, to the class of thing which the Stoics called *ἀδιάφορα*, *indifferentia*, *res mediae*; *cf.* Cicero, *de Fin.* iii. 16.

XXXI. ON SIREN SONGS

Now I recognize my Lucilius! He is beginning to reveal the character of which he gave promise. Follow up the impulse which prompted you to make for all that is best, treading under your feet that which is approved by the crowd. I would not have you greater or better than you planned; for in your case the mere foundations have covered a large extent of ground; only finish all that you have laid out, and take in hand the plans which you have had in mind. In short, you will be a wise man, if you stop up your ears; nor is it enough to close them with wax; you need a denser stopple than that which they say Ulysses used for his comrades. The song which he feared was alluring, but came not from every side; the song, however, which you have to fear, echoes round you not from a single headland, but from every quarter of the world. Sail, therefore, not past one region which you mistrust because of its treacherous delights, but past every city. Be deaf to those who love you most of all; they pray for bad things with good intentions. And, if you would be happy, entreat the gods that none of their fond desires for you may be brought to pass. What they wish to have heaped upon you are not really good things; there is only one good, the cause and the support of a happy life,—trust in oneself. But this cannot be attained, unless one has learned to despise toil and to reckon it among the things which are neither good nor bad. For it is not possible that a single thing should be bad at one time and good at another, at times light and to be endured, and at times a cause of dread. Work is not a good.[a] Then what is

contemptio. Itaque in vanum operosos culpaverim. Rursus ad honesta nitentes, quanto magis incubuerint minusque sibi vinci ac strigare permiserint, adprobabo[1] et clamabo: "Tanto melior, surge et inspira et clivum istum uno, si potes, spiritu exsupera."

5 Generosos animos labor nutrit. Non est ergo, quod ex illo voto vetere[2] parentum tuorum eligas, quid contingere tibi velis, quid optes; et in totum iam per maxima acto viro turpe est etiamnunc deos fatigare. Quid votis opus est? Fac te ipse felicem. Facies autem, si intellexeris bona esse, quibus admixta virtus est, turpia, quibus malitia coniuncta est. Quemadmodum sine mixtura lucis nihil splendidum est, nihil atrum, nisi quod tenebras habet aut aliquid in se traxit obscuri, quemadmodum sine adiutorio ignis nihil calidum est, nihil sine aëre frigidum; ita honesta et turpia virtutis ac malitiae societas efficit.

6 Quid ergo est bonum? Rerum scientia. Quid malum est? Rerum imperitia. Ille prudens atque artifex pro tempore quaeque repellet aut eliget. Sed nec quae repellit timet, nec miratur quae elegit, si modo magnus illi et invictus animus est. Summitti te ac deprimi veto. Laborem si non recuses, parum

[1] *adprobabo* Haase; *adprobator* p; *admirabor* LPb.
[2] *ex illo voto vetere* Hense; *ex illo vetere* pLPb.

[a] Literally, "come to the end of his furrow."

a good? I say, the scorning of work. That is why I should rebuke men who toil to no purpose. But when, on the other hand, a man is struggling towards honourable things, in proportion as he applies himself more and more, and allows himself less and less to be beaten or to halt,[a] I shall recommend his conduct and shout my encouragement, saying: "By so much you are better! Rise, draw a fresh breath, and surmount that hill, if possible, at a single spurt!"

Work is the sustenance of noble minds. There is, then, no reason why, in accordance with that old vow of your parents, you should pick and choose what fortune you wish should fall to your lot, or what you should pray for; besides, it is base for a man who has already travelled the whole round of highest honours to be still importuning the gods. What need is there of vows? Make yourself happy through your own efforts; you can do this, if once you comprehend that whatever is blended with virtue is good, and that whatever is joined to vice is bad. Just as nothing gleams if it has no light blended with it, and nothing is black unless it contains darkness or draws to itself something of dimness, and as nothing is hot without the aid of fire, and nothing cold without air; so it is the association of virtue and vice that makes things honourable or base.

What then is good? The knowledge of things. What is evil? The lack of knowledge of things. Your wise man, who is also a craftsman, will reject or choose in each case as it suits the occasion; but he does not fear that which he rejects, nor does he admire that which he chooses, if only he has a stout and unconquerable soul. I forbid you to be cast down or depressed. It is not enough if you do not

7 est; posce. "Quid ergo?" inquis, "labor frivolus et supervacuus et[1] quem humiles causae evocaverunt,[2] non est malus?" Non magis quam ille, qui pulchris rebus inpenditur, quoniam animi est ipsa tolerantia, quae se ad dura et aspera hortatur ac dicit: "Quid
8 cessas? Non est viri timere sudorem." Huc et illud accedat, ut perfecta virtus sit, aequalitas ac tenor vitae per omnia consonans sibi, quod non potest esse, nisi rerum scientia contingit et ars, per quam humana ac divina noscantur. Hoc est summum bonum. Quod si occupas, incipis deorum socius esse, non supplex.

9 "Quomodo," inquis, "isto pervenitur?" Non per Poeninum Graiumve montem nec per deserta Candaviae, nec Syrtes tibi nec Scylla aut Charybdis adeundae sunt, quae tamen omnia transisti procuratiunculae pretio; tutum iter est, iucundum est, ad quod natura te instruxit. Dedit tibi illa, quae si
10 non deserueris, par deo surges. Parem autem te deo pecunia non faciet; deus nihil habet. Praetexta non faciet; deus nudus est. Fama non faciet nec ostentatio tui et in populos nominis dimissa notitia; nemo novit deum, multi de illo male existimant, et inpune. Non turba servorum lecticam tuam per itinera urbana

[1] *et* Hense; *est* MSS.
[2] *evocaverunt* Haase; *vocaverunt* MSS.

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[a] *i.e.*, philosophy.
[b] The Great St. Bernard and the Little St. Bernard routes over the Alps.
[c] A mountain in Illyria, over which the *Via Egnatia* ran.
[d] Dangerous quick-sands along the north coast of Africa.
[e] The *toga praetexta*, badge of the official position of Lucilius.

shrink from work; ask for it. "But," you say, "is not trifling and superfluous work, and work that has been inspired by ignoble causes, a bad sort of work?" No; no more than that which is expended upon noble endeavours, since the very quality that endures toil and rouses itself to hard and uphill effort, is of the spirit, which says: "Why do you grow slack? It is not the part of a man to fear sweat." And besides this, in order that virtue may be perfect, there should be an even temperament and a scheme of life that is consistent with itself throughout; and this result cannot be attained without knowledge of things, and without the art[a] which enables us to understand things human and things divine. That is the greatest good. If you seize this good, you begin to be the associate of the gods, and not their suppliant.

"But how," you ask, "does one attain that goal?" You do not need to cross the Pennine or Graian[b] hills, or traverse the Candavian[c] waste, or face the Syrtes,[d] or Scylla, or Charybdis, although you have travelled through all these places for the bribe of a petty governorship; the journey for which nature has equipped you is safe and pleasant. She has given you such gifts that you may, if you do not prove false to them, rise level with God. Your money, however, will not place you on a level with God; for God has no property. Your bordered robe[e] will not do this; for God is not clad in raiment; nor will your reputation, nor a display of self, nor a knowledge of your name wide-spread throughout the world; for no one has knowledge of God; many even hold him in low esteem, and do not suffer for so doing. The throng of slaves which carries your litter along the city streets and in foreign places

ac peregrina portantium; deus ille maximus potentissimusque ipse vehit omnia. Ne forma quidem et vires beatum te facere possunt; nihil horum patitur vetustatem.

11 Quaerendum est, quod non fiat in dies eius, quoi[1] non possit obstari. Quid hoc est? Animus, sed hic rectus, bonus, magnus. Quid aliud voces hunc quam deum in corpore humano hospitantem? Hic animus tam in equitem Romanum quam in libertinum, quam in servum potest cadere. Quid est enim eques Romanus aut libertinus aut servus? Nomina ex ambitione aut ex iniuria nata. Subsilire in caelum ex angulo licet. Exurge modo

> et te quoque dignum
> Finge deo.

Finges autem non auro vel argento; non potest ex hac materia imago deo exprimi similis; cogita illos, cum propitii essent, fictiles fuisse. VALE.

XXXII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Inquiro de te et ab omnibus sciscitor, qui ex ista regione veniunt, quid agas, ubi et cum quibus moreris. Verba dare non potes; tecum sum. Sic vive, tamquam quid facias auditurus sim, immo tamquam visurus. Quaeris quid me maxime ex iis, quae de te

[1] *quoi* Opsopoeus; *quo* pPb; *qui* L.

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[a] For example, Time or Chance.

[b] Vergil, *Aeneid*, viii. 364 f.

[c] In the Golden Age, described in *Ep.* xc., when men were nearest to nature and "fresh from the gods."

will not help you; for this God of whom I speak, though the highest and most powerful of beings, carries all things on his own shoulders. Neither can beauty or strength make you blessed; for none of these qualities can withstand old age.

What we have to seek for, then, is that which does not each day pass more and more under the control of some power which cannot be withstood.[a] And what is this? It is the soul,—but the soul that is upright, good, and great. What else could you call such a soul than a god dwelling as a guest in a human body? A soul like this may descend into a Roman knight just as well as into a freedman's son or a slave. For what is a Roman knight, or a freedman's son, or a slave? They are mere titles, born of ambition or of wrong. One may leap to heaven from the very slums. Only rise

And mould thyself to kinship with thy God.[b]

This moulding will not be done in gold or silver; an image that is to be in the likeness of God cannot be fashioned of such materials; remember that the gods, when they were kind unto men,[c] were moulded in clay. Farewell.

XXXII. ON PROGRESS

I have been asking about you, and inquiring of everyone who comes from your part of the country, what you are doing, and where you are spending your time, and with whom. You cannot deceive me; for I am with you. Live just as if I were sure to get news of your doings, nay, as if I were sure to behold them. And if you wonder what particularly pleases

audio, delectet? Quod nihil audio, quod plerique ex his, quos interrogo, nesciunt quid agas.

2 Hoc est salutare, non conversari dissimilibus et diversa cupientibus. Habeo quidem fiduciam non posse te detorqueri mansurumque in proposito, etiam si sollicitantium turba circumeat. Quid ergo est? Non timeo, ne mutent te, timeo, ne inpediant. Multum autem nocet etiam qui moratur, utique in tanta brevitate vitae, quam breviorem inconstantia facimus aliud eius subinde atque aliud facientes initium. Diducimus illam in particulas ac lancinamus.

3 Propera ergo, Lucili carissime, et cogita quantum additurus celeritati fueris, si a tergo hostis instaret, si equitem adventare suspicareris ac fugientium premere vestigia. Fit hoc, premeris; accelera et evade, perduc te in tutum et subinde considera, quam pulchra res sit consummare vitam ante mortem, deinde expectare securum reliquam temporis sui partem, nihil sibi, in possessione beatae vitae positum,

4 quae beatior non fit, si longior. O quando illud videbis tempus, quo scies tempus ad te non pertinere, quo tranquillus placidusque eris et crastini neglegens ut[1] in summa tui satietate!

Vis scire, quid sit, quod faciat homines avidos futuri? Nemo sibi contigit. Optaverunt itaque

[1] *ut* added by Gertz.

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[a] The text seems to be corrupt. Hense thinks that *expectare* is to be supplied with *nihil sibi*—"To expect nothing for oneself"; but the use of the verb in two meanings would be harsh. The thought seems to be "asking for no added years"; and one suspects the loss of a word like *adrogantem* before *nihil.*

me that I hear concerning you, it is that I hear nothing, that most of those whom I ask do not know what you are doing.

This is sound practice,—to refrain from associating with men of different stamp and different aims. And I am indeed confident that you cannot be warped, that you will stick to your purpose, even though the crowd may surround and seek to distract you. What, then, is on my mind? I am not afraid lest they work a change in you; but I am afraid lest they may hinder your progress. And much harm is done even by one who holds you back, especially since life is so short; and we make it still shorter by our unsteadiness, by making ever fresh beginnings at life, now one and immediately another. We break up life into little bits, and fritter it away. Hasten ahead, then, dearest Lucilius, and reflect how greatly you would quicken your speed if an enemy were at your back, or if you suspected the cavalry were approaching and pressing hard upon your steps as you fled. It is true; the enemy is indeed pressing upon you; you should therefore increase your speed and escape away and reach a safe position, remembering continually what a noble thing it is to round out your life before death comes, and then await in peace the remaining portion of your time, claiming[a] nothing for yourself, since you are in possession of the happy life; for such a life is not made happier for being longer. O when shall you see the time when you shall know that time means nothing to you, when you shall be peaceful and calm, careless of the morrow, because you are enjoying your life to the full?

Would you know what makes men greedy for the future? It is because no one has yet found himself.

tibi alia parentes tui; sed ego contra omnium tibi
eorum contemptum opto, quorum illi copiam. Vota
illorum multos conpilant, ut te locupletent. Quicquid
5 ad te transferunt, alicui detrahendum est. Opto tibi
tui facultatem, ut vagis cogitationibus agitata mens
tandem resistat et certa sit, ut placeat sibi et intel-
lectis veris[1] bonis, quae, simul intellecta sunt, pos-
sidentur, aetatis adiectione non egeat. Ille demum
necessitates supergressus est et exauctoratus ac liber,
qui vivit vita peracta. VALE.

XXXIII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Desideras his quoque epistulis sicut prioribus ad-
scribi aliquas voces nostrorum procerum. Non fue-
runt circa flosculos occupati; totus contextus illorum
virilis est. Inaequalitatem scias esse, ubi quae
eminent, notabilia sunt. Non est admirationi una
arbor, ubi in eandem altitudinem tota silva sur-
2 rexit. Eiusmodi vocibus referta sunt carmina, refertae
historiae. Itaque nolo illas Epicuri existimes esse;
publicae sunt et maxime nostrae. Sed in[2] illo magis

[1] *veris* Erasmus; *verbis* MSS.
[2] *in* added by Erasmus.

[a] *i.e.*, Stoic as well as Epicurean.

Your parents, to be sure, asked other blessings for you; but I myself pray rather that you may despise all those things which your parents wished for you in abundance. Their prayers plunder many another person, simply that you may be enriched. Whatever they make over to you must be removed from someone else. I pray that you may get such control over yourself that your mind, now shaken by wandering thoughts, may at last come to rest and be steadfast, that it may be content with itself and, having attained an understanding of what things are truly good,—and they are in our possession as soon as we have this knowledge,—that it may have no need of added years. He has at length passed beyond all necessities,—he has won his honourable discharge and is free,—who still lives after his life has been completed. Farewell.

XXXIII. ON THE FUTILITY OF LEARNING MAXIMS

You wish me to close these letters also, as I closed my former letters, with certain utterances taken from the chiefs of our school. But they did not interest themselves in choice extracts; the whole texture of their work is full of strength. There is unevenness, you know, when some objects rise conspicuous above others. A single tree is not remarkable if the whole forest rises to the same height. Poetry is crammed with utterances of this sort, and so is history. For this reason I would not have you think that these utterances belong to Epicurus: they are common property and are emphatically our own.[a]

adnotantur, quia rarae interim interveniunt, quia inexpectatae, quia mirum est fortiter aliquid dici ab homine mollitiam professo. Ita enim plerique iudicant. Apud me Epicurus est et fortis, licet manuleatus sit. Fortitudo et industria et ad bellum prompta mens tam in Persas quam in alte cinctos cadit.

3 Non est ergo quod exigas excerpta et repetita; continuum est apud nostros quicquid apud alios excerpitur. Non habemus itaque ista ocliferia nec emptorem decipimus nihil inventurum, cum intraverit, praeter illa, quae in fronte suspensa sunt. Ipsis
4 permittimus, unde velint sumere exemplaria. Puta nos velle singulares sententias ex turba separare; cui illas adsignabimus? Zenoni an Cleanthi an Chrysippo an Panaetio an Posidonio? Non sumus sub rege; sibi quisque se vindicat. Apud istos quicquid Hermarchus dixit, quicquid Metrodorus, ad unum refertur. Omnia quae quisquam in illo contubernio locutus est, unius ductu et auspiciis dicta sunt. Non possumus, inquam, licet temptemus, educere aliquid ex tanta rerum aequalium multitudine.

Pauperis est numerare pecus.

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[a] Contrasted with *alte cinctos*. The sleeveless and "girt-up" tunic is the sign of energy; *cf.* Horace, *Sat.* i. 5. 5, and Suetonius, *Caligula*, 52: the effeminate Caligula would "appear in public with a long-sleeved tunic and bracelets."

[b] Who wore sleeves.

[c] *i.e.*, the Epicureans.

[d] For the phrase *ductu et auspiciis* see Plautus, *Amph.* i. 1. 41 *ut gesserit rem publicam ductu imperio auspicio suo*; and Horace, *Od.* i. 7. 27 *Teucro duce et auspice Teucro.* The original significance of the phrase refers to the right of the commander-in-chief to take the auspices

[e] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xiii. 824.

They are, however, more noteworthy in Epicurus, because they appear at infrequent intervals and when you do not expect them, and because it is surprising that brave words should be spoken at any time by a man who made a practice of being effeminate. For that is what most persons maintain. In my own opinion, however, Epicurus is really a brave man, even though he did wear long sleeves.[a] Fortitude, energy, and readiness for battle are to be found among the Persians,[b] just as much as among men who have girded themselves up high.

Therefore, you need not call upon me for extracts and quotations; such thoughts as one may extract here and there in the works of other philosophers run through the whole body of our writings. Hence we have no "show-window goods," nor do we deceive the purchaser in such a way that, if he enters our shop, he will find nothing except that which is displayed in the window. We allow the purchasers themselves to get their samples from anywhere they please. Suppose we should desire to sort out each separate motto from the general stock; to whom shall we credit them? To Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Panaetius, or Posidonius? We Stoics are not subjects of a despot: each of us lays claim to his own freedom. With them,[c] on the other hand, whatever Hermarchus says, or Metrodorus, is ascribed to one source. In that brotherhood, everything that any man utters is spoken under the leadership and commanding authority[d] of one alone. We cannot, I maintain, no matter how we try, pick out anything from so great a multitude of things equally good.

Only the poor man counts his flock.[e]

Quocumque miseris oculum, id tibi occurret, quod eminere posset, nisi inter paria legeretur.

5 Quare depone istam spem, posse te summatim degustare ingenia maximorum virorum; tota tibi inspicienda sunt, tota tractanda. Res geritur et per lineamenta sua ingenii opus nectitur, ex quo nihil subduci sine ruina potest. Nec recuso, quo minus singula membra, dummodo in ipso homine, consideres. Non est formonsa, cuius crus laudatur aut brachium, sed illa, cuius universa facies admirationem partibus singulis abstulit.

6 Si tamen exegeris, non tam mendice tecum agam, sed plena manu fiet; ingens eorum turba est passim iacentium, sumenda erunt, non colligenda. Non enim excidunt, sed fluunt. Perpetua et inter se contexta sunt. Nec dubito, quin multum conferant rudibus adhuc et extrinsecus auscultantibus; facilius enim singula insidunt circumscripta et carminis modo
7 inclusa. Ideo pueris et sententias ediscendas damus et has quas Graeci chrias vocant, quia conplecti illas puerilis animus potest, qui plus adhuc non capit. Certi profectus viro captare flosculos turpe est et fulcire se notissimis ac paucissimis vocibus et memoria stare; sibi iam innitatur. Dicat ista, non teneat. Turpe est enim seni aut prospicienti senectutem ex

[a] Either "maxims" or "outlines," "themes." For a discussion of them see Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* i. 9. 3 ff.

Wherever you direct your gaze, you will meet with something that might stand out from the rest, if the context in which you read it were not equally notable.

For this reason, give over hoping that you can skim, by means of epitomes, the wisdom of distinguished men. Look into their wisdom as a whole; study it as a whole. They are working out a plan and weaving together, line upon line, a masterpiece, from which nothing can be taken away without injury to the whole. Examine the separate parts, if you like, provided you examine them as parts of the man himself. She is not a beautiful woman whose ankle or arm is praised, but she whose general appearance makes you forget to admire her single attributes.

If you insist, however, I shall not be niggardly with you, but lavish; for there is a huge multitude of these passages; they are scattered about in profusion,—they do not need to be gathered together, but merely to be picked up. They do not drip forth occasionally; they flow continuously. They are unbroken and are closely connected. Doubtless they would be of much benefit to those who are still novices and worshipping outside the shrine; for single maxims sink in more easily when they are marked off and bounded like a line of verse. That is why we give to children a proverb, or that which the Greeks call *Chria*,[a] to be learned by heart; that sort of thing can be comprehended by the young mind, which cannot as yet hold more. For a man, however, whose progress is definite, to chase after choice extracts and to prop his weakness by the best known and the briefest sayings and to depend upon his memory, is disgraceful; it is time for him to lean on himself. He should make such maxims and not memorize them. For it is disgraceful even for an

commentario sapere. "Hoc Zenon dixit"; tu quid? "Hoc Cleanthes"; tu quid? Quousque sub alio moveris? Impera et dic, quod memoriae tradatur.
8 Aliquid et de tuo profer. Omnes itaque istos, numquam auctores, semper interpretes sub aliena umbra latentes, nihil existimo habere generosi, numquam ausos aliquando facere, quod diu didicerant. Memoriam in alienis exercuerunt. Aliud autem est meminisse, aliud scire. Meminisse est rem commissam memoriae custodire. At contra scire est et sua facere quaeque nec ad exemplar pendere et totiens respicere
9 ad magistrum. "Hoc dixit Zenon, hoc Cleanthes!" Aliquid inter te intersit et librum. Quousque disces? Iam et praecipe. "Quid est quare et[1] audiam, quod legere possum?" "Multum," inquit, "viva vox facit." Non quidem haec, quae alienis verbis commodatur et actuari vice fungitur.

10 Adice nunc quod isti, qui numquam tutelae suae fiunt, primum in ea re secuntur priores, in qua nemo non a priore descivit; deinde in ea re secuntur, quae adhuc quaeritur. Numquam autem invenietur si con-

[1] *quid est quare et* Hense; *quid est et quare* p; *quidem quod ar te* L; *quid est quare* Pb.

[a] The objector is the assumed auditor. The answer to the objection gives the general view as to the power of the living voice; to this Seneca assents, provided that the voice has a message of its own.

old man, or one who has sighted old age, to have a note-book knowledge. "This is what Zeno said." But what have you yourself said? "This is the opinion of Cleanthes." But what is your own opinion? How long shall you march under another man's orders? Take command, and utter some word which posterity will remember. Put forth something from your own stock. For this reason I hold that there is nothing of eminence in all such men as these, who never create anything themselves, but always lurk in the shadow of others, playing the rôle of interpreters, never daring to put once into practice what they have been so long in learning. They have exercised their memories on other men's material. But it is one thing to remember, another to know. Remembering is merely safeguarding something entrusted to the memory; knowing, however, means making everything your own; it means not depending upon the copy and not all the time glancing back at the master. "Thus said Zeno, thus said Cleanthes, indeed!" Let there be a difference between yourself and your book! How long shall you be a learner? From now on be a teacher as well! "But why," one asks,[a] "should I have to continue hearing lectures on what I can read?" "The living voice," one replies, "is a great help." Perhaps, but not the voice which merely makes itself the mouthpiece of another's words, and only performs the duty of a reporter.

Consider this fact also: those who have never attained their mental independence begin, in the first place, by following the leader in cases where everyone has deserted the leader; then, in the second place, they follow him in matters where the truth is still being investigated. However, the truth will

tenti fuerimus inventis. Praeterea qui alium sequitur,
11 nihil invenit, immo nec quaerit. Quid ergo? Non ibo per priorum vestigia? Ego vero utar via vetere, sed si propiorem planioremque invenero, hanc muniam. Qui ante nos ista moverunt, non domini nostri, sed duces sunt. Patet omnibus veritas, nondum est occupata. Multum ex illa etiam futuris relictum est. VALE.

XXXIIII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Cresco et exulto et discussa senectute recalesco, quotiens ex iis, quae agis ac scribis, intellego, quantum te ipse, nam turbam olim reliqueras, superieceris.[1] Si agricolam arbor ad fructum perducta delectat, si pastor ex fetu gregis sui capit voluptatem, si alumnum suum nemo aliter intuetur quam ut adulescentiam illius suam iudicet; quid evenire credis iis, qui ingenia educaverunt et quae tenera formaverunt adulta subito vident?

2 Adsero te mihi; meum opus es. Ego quom[2] vidissem indolem tuam, inieci manum, exhortatus sum, addidi stimulos nec lente ire passus sum, sed subinde incitavi; et nunc idem facio, sed iam currentem hortor et invicem hortantem.

[1] *superieceris* von Jan; *supertegeris* MSS.
[2] *quom* Rossbach; *quam, cum* and *com* MSS.

[a] A reference to the act (*iniectio*) by which a Roman took possession of a thing belonging to him, *e.g.*, a runaway slave,—without a decision of the court.

never be discovered if we rest contented with discoveries already made. Besides, he who follows another not only discovers nothing, but is not even investigating. What then? Shall I not follow in the footsteps of my predecessors? I shall indeed use the old road, but if I find one that makes a shorter cut and is smoother to travel, I shall open the new road. Men who have made these discoveries before us are not our masters, but our guides. Truth lies open for all; it has not yet been monopolized. And there is plenty of it left even for posterity to discover. Farewell.

XXXIV. ON A PROMISING PUPIL

I grow in spirit and leap for joy and shake off my years and my blood runs warm again, whenever I understand, from your actions and your letters, how far you have outdone yourself; for as to the ordinary man, you left him in the rear long ago. If the farmer is pleased when his tree develops so that it bears fruit, if the shepherd takes pleasure in the increase of his flocks, if every man regards his pupil as though he discerned in him his own early manhood,—what, then, do you think are the feelings of those who have trained a mind and moulded a young idea, when they see it suddenly grown to maturity? I claim you for myself; you are my handiwork. When I saw your abilities, I laid my hand upon you,[a] exhorted you, I applied the goad and did not permit you to march lazily, but roused you continually. And now I do the same; but by this time I am cheering on one who is in the race and so in turn cheers me on.

3 "Quid aliud?" inquis; "adhuc volo." In hoc plurimum est, non sic quomodo principia totius operis dimidium occupare dicuntur; ista[1] res animo constat. Itaque pars magna bonitatis est velle fieri bonum. Scis quem bonum dicam? Perfectum, absolutum, quem malum facere nulla vis, nulla necessitas possit.
4 Hunc te prospicio, si perseveraveris et incubueris et id egeris, ut omnia facta dictaque tua inter se congruant ac respondeant sibi et una forma percussa sint. Non est huius animus in recto, cuius acta discordant. VALE.

XXXV.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Cum te tam valde rogo, ut studeas, meum negotium ago; habere te[2] amicum volo, quod contingere mihi, nisi pergis ut coepisti excolere te, non potest. Nunc enim amas me, amicus non es. "Quid ergo? Haec inter se diversa sunt?" Immo dissimilia. Qui amicus est, amat; qui amat, non utique amicus est. Itaque amicitia semper prodest, amor aliquando etiam nocet. Si nihil aliud, ob hoc profice, ut amare discas.

2 Festina ergo, dum mihi proficis, ne istuc alter

[1] *ista* Haase; *ita* MSS.
[2] *te* added by Linde.

[a] *i.e.*, the proverb may apply to tasks which a man performs with his hands, but it is an understatement when applied to the tasks of the soul.

[b] The question of Lucilius represents the popular view which regards love as including friendship. But according to Seneca it is only the perfect love, from which all selfishness has been removed, that becomes identical with friendship.

"What else do you want of me, then?" you ask; "the will is still mine." Well, the will in this case is almost everything, and not merely the half, as in the proverb "A task once begun is half done." It is more than half, for the matter of which we speak is determined by the soul.[a] Hence it is that the larger part of goodness is the will to become good. You know what I mean by a good man? One who is complete, finished,—whom no constraint or need can render bad. I see such a person in you, if only you go steadily on and bend to your task, and see to it that all your actions and words harmonize and correspond with each other and are stamped in the same mould. If a man's acts are out of harmony, his soul is crooked. Farewell.

XXXV. ON THE FRIENDSHIP OF KINDRED MINDS

When I urge you so strongly to your studies, it is my own interest which I am consulting; I want your friendship, and it cannot fall to my lot unless you proceed, as you have begun, with the task of developing yourself. For now, although you love me, you are not yet my friend. "But," you reply, "are these words of different meaning?" Nay, more, they are totally unlike in meaning.[b] A friend loves you, of course; but one who loves you is not in every case your friend. Friendship, accordingly, is always helpful, but love sometimes even does harm. Try to perfect yourself, if for no other reason, in order that you may learn how to love.

Hasten, therefore, in order that, while thus perfecting yourself for my benefit, you may not have

didiceris. Ego quidem percipio iam fructum, cum mihi fingo uno nos animo futuros et quicquid aetati meae vigoris abscessit, id ad me ex tua, quamquam
3 non multum abest, rediturum. Sed tamen re quoque ipsa esse laetus volo. Venit ad nos ex iis, quos amamus, etiam absentibus gaudium, sed id leve et evanidum; conspectus et praesentia et conversatio habet aliquid vivae voluptatis, utique si non tantum quem velis, sed qualem velis, videas. Adfer itaque te mihi ingens munus, et quo magis instes, cogita te
4 mortalem esse, me senem. Propera ad me, sed ad te prius. Profice et ante omnia hoc cura, ut constes tibi. Quotiens experiri voles, an aliquid actum sit, observa, an eadem hodie velis, quae heri. Mutatio voluntatis indicat animum natare, aliubi atque aliubi apparere, prout tulit ventus. Non vagatur, quod fixum atque fundatum est. Istud sapienti perfecto contingit, aliquatenus et proficienti provectoque. Quid ergo interest? Hic commovetur quidem, non tamen transit, sed suo loco nutat; ille ne commovetur quidem. VALE.

learned perfection for the benefit of another. To be sure, I am already deriving some profit by imagining that we two shall be of one mind, and that whatever portion of my strength has yielded to age will return to me from your strength, although there is not so very much difference in our ages. But yet I wish to rejoice in the accomplished fact. We feel a joy over those whom we love, even when separated from them, but such a joy is light and fleeting; the sight of a man, and his presence, and communion with him, afford something of living pleasure; this is true, at any rate, if one not only sees the man one desires, but the sort of man one desires. Give yourself to me, therefore, as a gift of great price, and, that you may strive the more, reflect that you yourself are mortal, and that I am old. Hasten to find me, but hasten to find yourself first. Make progress, and, before all else, endeavour to be consistent with yourself. And when you would find out whether you have accomplished anything, consider whether you desire the same things to-day that you desired yesterday. A shifting of the will indicates that the mind is at sea, heading in various directions, according to the course of the wind. But that which is settled and solid does not wander from its place. This is the blessed lot of the completely wise man, and also, to a certain extent, of him who is progressing and has made some headway. Now what is the difference between these two classes of men? The one is in motion, to be sure, but does not change its position; it merely tosses up and down where it is; the other is not in motion at all. Farewell.

XXXVI.

Seneca Lucilio suo salutem

1 Amicum tuum hortare, ut istos magno animo contemnat, qui illum obiurgant, quod umbram et otium petierit, quod dignitatem suam destituerit, et cum plus consequi posset, praetulerit quietem omnibus; quam utiliter suum negotium gesserit, cotidie illis ostentet.[1] Hi, quibus invidetur, non desinent transire; alii elidentur, alii cadent. Res est inquieta felicitas; ipsa se exagitat. Movet cerebrum non uno genere; alios in aliud irritat, hos in potentiam, illos in luxuriam. Hos inflat, illos mollit et totos resolvit.

2 "At bene aliquis illam fert." Sic, quomodo vinum. Itaque non est quod tibi isti persuadeant eum esse felicem, qui a[2] multis obsidetur; sic ad illum, quemadmodum ad lacum concurritur, quem exhauriunt et turbant. "Nugatorium et inertem vocant." Scis quosdam perverse loqui et significare
3 contraria. Felicem vocabant; quid ergo? Erat? Ne illud quidem curo, quod quibusdam nimis horridi animi videtur et tetrici. Ariston aiebat malle se adulescentem tristem quam hilarem et amabilem turbae. Vinum enim bonum fieri, quod recens durum et asperum visum est; non pati aetatem, quod in

[1] *ostentet* P; *ostendet* pb; *ostendit* L. Hense suggests *ostendat*.
[2] *qui a* Pb; *quia* L; *qui* p (defended by Gertz).

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[a] *i.e.*, they are no more correct now, when they call him a trifler, than they were before, when they called him happy.
[b] Aristo of Chios, Frag. 388 von Arnim.

XXXVI. ON THE VALUE OF RETIREMENT

Encourage your friend to despise stout-heartedly those who upbraid him because he has sought the shade of retirement and has abdicated his career of honours, and, though he might have attained more, has preferred tranquillity to them all. Let him prove daily to these detractors how wisely he has looked out for his own interests. Those whom men envy will continue to march past him; some will be pushed out of the ranks, and others will fall. Prosperity is a turbulent thing; it torments itself. It stirs the brain in more ways than one, goading men on to various aims,—some to power, and others to high living. Some it puffs up; others it slackens and wholly enervates.

"But," the retort comes, "so-and-so carries his prosperity well." Yes; just as he carries his liquor. So you need not let this class of men persuade you that one who is besieged by the crowd is happy; they run to him as crowds rush for a pool of water, rendering it muddy while they drain it. But you say: "Men call our friend a trifler and a sluggard." There are men, you know, whose speech is awry, who use the contrary[a] terms. They called him happy; what of it? Was he happy? Even the fact that to certain persons he seems a man of a very rough and gloomy cast of mind, does not trouble me. Aristo[b] used to say that he preferred a youth of stern disposition to one who was a jolly fellow and agreeable to the crowd. "For," he added, "wine which, when new, seemed harsh and sour, becomes good wine; but that which tasted well at the vintage

dolio placuit. Sine eum tristem appellent et inimicum processibus suis; bene se dabit in vetustate ipsa[1] tristitia, perseveret modo colere virtutem, perbibere liberalia studia, non illa, quibus perfundi satis
4 est, sed haec, quibus tingendus est animus. Hoc est discendi tempus. "Quid ergo? Aliquod est, quo non sit discendum?" Minime. Sed quemadmodum omnibus annis studere honestum est, ita non omnibus institui. Turpis et ridicula res est elementarius senex; iuveni parandum, seni utendum est. Facies ergo rem utilissimam tibi, si illum quam optimum feceris; haec aiunt beneficia esse expetenda tribuendaque, non dubie primae sortis, quae tam dare prodest quam accipere.

5 Denique nihil illi iam liberi est; spopondit. Minus autem turpe est creditori quam spei bonae decoquere. Ad illud aes alienum solvendum opus est negotianti navigatione prospera, agrum colenti ubertate eius, quam colit, terrae, caeli favore; ille
6 quod debet, sola potest voluntate persolvi. In mores fortuna ius non habet. Hos disponat, ut quam tranquillissimus ille animus ad perfectum veniat, qui nec ablatum sibi quicquam sentit nec adiectum, sed in eodem habitu est, quomodocumque res cedunt. Cui sive adgeruntur vulgaria bona, supra res suas

[1] *ipsa* MSS.; *ista* Jugis, perhaps rightly.

cannot stand age." So let them call him stern and a foe to his own advancement. It is just this sternness that will go well when it is aged, provided only that he continues to cherish virtue and to absorb thoroughly the studies which make for culture,—not those with which it is sufficient for a man to sprinkle himself, but those in which the mind should be steeped. Now is the time to learn. "What? Is there any time when a man should not learn?" By no means; but just as it is creditable for every age to study, so it is not creditable for every age to be instructed. An old man learning his A B C is a disgraceful and absurd object; the young man must store up, the old man must use. You will therefore be doing a thing most helpful to yourself if you make this friend of yours as good a man as possible; those kindnesses, they tell us, are to be both sought for and bestowed, which benefit the giver no less than the receiver; and they are unquestionably the best kind.

Finally, he has no longer any freedom in the matter; he has pledged his word. And it is less disgraceful to compound with a creditor than to compound with a promising future. To pay his debt of money, the business man must have a prosperous voyage, the farmer must have fruitful fields and kindly weather; but the debt which your friend owes can be completely paid by mere goodwill. Fortune has no jurisdiction over character. Let him so regulate his character that in perfect peace he may bring to perfection that spirit within him which feels neither loss nor gain, but remains in the same attitude, no matter how things fall out. A spirit like this, if it is heaped with worldly goods, rises superior to its wealth; if, on the other hand, chance

eminet, sive aliquid ex istis vel omnia casus excussit, minor non fit.

7 Si in Parthia natus esset, arcum infans statim tenderet; si in Germania, protinus puer tenerum hastile vibraret; si avorum nostrorum temporibus fuisset, equitare et hostem comminus percutere didicisset. Haec singulis disciplina gentis suae suadet
8 atque imperat. Quid ergo huic meditandum est? Quod adversus omnia tela, quod adversus omne hostium genus bene facit, mortem contemnere, quae quin habeat aliquid in se terribile, ut et animos nostros, quos in amorem sui natura formavit, offendat, nemo dubitat; nec enim opus esset in id comparari et acui, in quod instinctu quodam voluntario iremus,
9 sicut feruntur omnes ad conservationem sui. Nemo discit, ut si necesse fuerit, aequo animo in rosa iaceat, sed in hoc duratur, ut tormentis non summittat fidem, ut si necesse fuerit, stans etiam aliquando saucius pro vallo pervigilet et ne pilo quidem incumbat, quia solet obrepere interim somnus in aliquod adminiculum reclinatis.

Mors nullum habet incommodum; esse enim
10 debet aliquid,[1] cuius sit incommodum. Quod si tanta cupiditas te longioris aevi tenet, cogita nihil eorum, quae ab oculis abeunt et in rerum naturam,

[1] *aliquid* editors; *aliquis* MSS.

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[a] As a Roman, living in an age when philosophy was recommended and prescribed.

[b] *i.e.*, if death inspired no terror.

[c] And since after death we do not exist, death cannot be harmful to us. Seneca has in mind the argument of Epicurus (Diogenes Laërtius, x. 124-5): "Therefore the most dread-inspiring of all evils, death, is nothing to us; for when we exist, death is not present to us, and when death is present, then we do not exist. Therefore it does

has stripped him of a part of his wealth, or even all, it is not impaired.

If your friend had been born in Parthia, he would have begun, when a child, to bend the bow; if in Germany, he would forthwith have been brandishing his slender spear; if he had been born in the days of our forefathers, he would have learned to ride a horse and smite his enemy hand to hand. These are the occupations which the system of each race recommends to the individual,—yes, prescribes for him. To what, then, shall this friend [a] of yours devote his attention? I say, let him learn that which is helpful against all weapons, against every kind of foe,—contempt of death; because no one doubts that death has in it something that inspires terror, so that it shocks even our souls, which nature has so moulded that they love their own existence; for otherwise [b] there would be no need to prepare ourselves, and to whet our courage, to face that towards which we should move with a sort of voluntary instinct, precisely as all men tend to preserve their existence. No man learns a thing in order that, if necessity arises, he may lie down with composure upon a bed of roses; but he steels his courage to this end,—that he may not surrender his plighted faith to torture, and that, if need be, he may some day stay out his watch in the trenches, even though wounded, without even leaning on his spear; because sleep is likely to creep over men who support themselves by any prop whatsoever.

In death there is nothing harmful; for there must exist something to which it is harmful.[c] And yet, if you are possessed by so great a craving for a longer life, reflect that none of the objects which vanish from our gaze and are re-absorbed into the

ex qua prodierunt ac mox processura sunt, reconduntur, consumi; desinunt ista, non pereunt. Et mors, quam pertimescimus ac recusamus, intermittit vitam, non eripit; veniet iterum, qui nos in lucem reponat dies, quem multi recusarent, nisi oblitos reduceret.

11 Sed postea diligentius docebo omnia, quae videntur perire, mutari. Aequo animo debet rediturus exire. Observa orbem rerum in se remeantium; videbis nihil in hoc mundo extingui, sed vicibus descendere ac surgere. Aestas abît, sed alter illam annus adducet; hiemps cecidit,[1] referent illam sui menses; solem nox obruit, sed ipsam statim dies abiget. Stellarum iste discursus quicquid praeterît repetit;
12 pars caeli levatur assidue, pars mergitur. Denique finem faciam, si hoc unum adiecero, nec infantes nec[2] pueros nec mente lapsos timere mortem et esse turpissimum, si eam securitatem nobis ratio non praestat, ad quam stultitia perducit. Vale.

XXXVII.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Quod maximum vinculum est ad bonam mentem, promisisti virum bonum, sacramento rogatus es. Deridebit te, si quis tibi dixerit mollem esse militiam

[1] *cecidit* MSS.; Hense would read *cecidit, sed.*
[2] Hense, following Madvig, would delete *nec.*

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not concern either the living or the dead; for to the living it has no existence, and the dead do not themselves exist." Lucretius uses this argument, concluding it with (iii. 830): *Nil igitur mors est ad nos neque pertinet hilum.*

[a] For example, in *Ep.* lxxvii.

world of things, from which they have come forth and are soon to come forth again, is annihilated; they merely end their course and do not perish. And death, which we fear and shrink from, merely interrupts life, but does not steal it away; the time will return when we shall be restored to the light of day; and many men would object to this, were they not brought back in forgetfulness of the past.

But I mean to show you later,[a] with more care, that everything which seems to perish merely changes. Since you are destined to return, you ought to depart with a tranquil mind. Mark how the round of the universe repeats its course; you will see that no star in our firmament is extinguished, but that they all set and rise in alternation. Summer has gone, but another year will bring it again; winter lies low, but will be restored by its own proper months; night has overwhelmed the sun, but day will soon rout the night again. The wandering stars retrace their former courses; a part of the sky is rising unceasingly, and a part is sinking. One word more, and then I shall stop; infants, and boys, and those who have gone mad, have no fear of death, and it is most shameful if reason cannot afford us that peace of mind to which they have been brought by their folly. Farewell.

XXXVII. ON ALLEGIANCE TO VIRTUE

You have promised to be a good man; you have enlisted under oath; that is the strongest chain which will hold you to a sound understanding. Any man will be but mocking you, if he declares that this is an effeminate and easy kind of soldiering. I

et facilem. Nolo te decipi. Eadem honestissimi huius et illius turpissimi auctoramenti verba sunt:
2 "Uri, vinciri ferroque necari." Ab illis, qui manus harenae locant et edunt ac bibunt, quae per sanguinem reddant, cavetur, ut ista vel inviti patiantur; a te, ut volens libensque patiaris. Illis licet arma summittere, misericordiam populi temptare; tu neque summittes nec vitam rogabis. Recto tibi invictoque moriendum est. Quid porro prodest paucos dies aut annos lucrificare? Sine missione nascimur.

3 "Quomodo ergo," inquis, "me expediam?" Effugere non potes necessitates, potes vincere.

Fit via vi.[1]

Et hanc tibi viam[2] dabit philosophia. Ad hanc te confer, si vis salvus esse, si securus, si beatus, denique si vis esse, quod est maximum, liber. Hoc contingere
4 aliter non potest. Humilis res est stultitia, abiecta, sordida, servilis, multis affectibus et saevissimis subiecta. Hos tam graves dominos, interdum alternis imperantes, interdum pariter, dimittit a te sapientia, quae sola libertas est. Una ad hanc fert via, et quidem recta; non aberrabis. Vade certo gradu; si vis omnia tibi subicere, te subice rationi; multos reges si ratio te rexerit. Ab illa disces, quid

[1] *vi*, omitted from the Seneca MSS., supplied from Vergil.
[2] *viam* pPb; *unam* L; *viam una* Gertz.

[a] He refers to the famous oath which the gladiator took when he hired himself to the fighting-master; *uri, vinciri, verberari, ferroque necari patior*; *cf.* Petronius, *Sat.* 117. The oath is abbreviated in the text, probably by Seneca himself, who paraphrases it in *Ep.* lxxi. 23.

[b] Awaiting the signal of "thumbs up" or "thumbs down." Cp. Juvenal, iii. 36 *verso pollice, vulgus Quem iubet, occidunt populariter.*

[c] Vergil, *Aeneid*, ii. 494.

[d] In the language of Stoicism, *ἀμαθία*, *stultitia*, "folly," is the antithesis of *σοφία*, *sapientia*, "wisdom."

will not have you deceived. The words of this most honourable compact are the same as the words of that most disgraceful one, to wit[a]: "Through burning, imprisonment, or death by the sword." From the men who hire out their strength for the arena, who eat and drink what they must pay for with their blood, security is taken that they will endure such trials even though they be unwilling; from you, that you will endure them willingly and with alacrity. The gladiator may lower his weapon and test the pity of the people;[b] but you will neither lower your weapon nor beg for life. You must die erect and unyielding. Moreover, what profit is it to gain a few days or a few years? There is no discharge for us from the moment we are born.

"Then how can I free myself?" you ask. You cannot escape necessities, but you can overcome them.

By force a way is made.[c]

And this way will be afforded you by philosophy. Betake yourself therefore to philosophy if you would be safe, untroubled, happy, in fine, if you wish to be, —and that is most important,—free. There is no other way to attain this end. Folly[d] is low, abject, mean, slavish, and exposed to many of the cruellest passions. These passions, which are heavy taskmasters, sometimes ruling by turns, and sometimes together, can be banished from you by wisdom, which is the only real freedom. There is but one path leading thither, and it is a straight path; you will not go astray. Proceed with steady step, and if you would have all things under your control, put yourself under the control of reason; if reason becomes your ruler, you will become ruler over many.

et quemadmodum adgredi debeas; non incides
5 rebus. Neminem mihi dabis, qui sciat, quomodo quod vult, coeperit velle; non consilio adductus illo, sed inpetu inpactus est. Non minus saepe fortuna in nos incurrit quam nos in illam. Turpe est non ire, sed ferri et subito in medio turbine rerum stupentem quaerere: "Huc ego quemadmodum veni?" VALE.

XXXVIII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Merito exigis, ut hoc inter nos epistularum commercium frequentemus. Plurimum proficit sermo, quia minutatim inrepit animo. Disputationes praeparatae et effusae audiente populo plus habent strepitus, minus familiaritatis. Philosophia bonum consilium est; consilium nemo clare dat.[1] Aliquando utendum est et illis, ut ita dicam, contionibus, ubi qui dubitat, impellendus est; ubi vero non hoc agendum est, ut velit discere, sed ut discat, ad haec submissiora verba veniendum est. Facilius intrant et haerent; nec enim multis opus est, sed efficacibus.
2 Seminis modo spargenda sunt, quod quamvis sit exiguum, cum occupavit idoneum locum, vires suas explicat et ex minimo in maximos auctus diffunditur.

[1] Georges conjectures *clamitat* for *clare dat*, perhaps rightly.

You will learn from her what you should undertake, and how it should be done; you will not blunder into things. You can show me no man who knows how he began to crave that which he craves. He has not been led to that pass by forethought; he has been driven to it by impulse. Fortune attacks us as often as we attack Fortune. It is disgraceful, instead of proceeding ahead, to be carried along, and then suddenly, amid the whirlpool of events, to ask in a dazed way: "How did I get into this condition?" Farewell.

XXXVIII. ON QUIET CONVERSATION

You are right when you urge that we increase our mutual traffic in letters. But the greatest benefit is to be derived from conversation, because it creeps by degrees into the soul. Lectures prepared beforehand and spouted in the presence of a throng have in them more noise but less intimacy. Philosophy is good advice; and no one can give advice at the top of his lungs. Of course we must sometimes also make use of these harangues, if I may so call them, when a doubting member needs to be spurred on; but when the aim is to make a man learn, and not merely to make him wish to learn, we must have recourse to the low-toned words of conversation. They enter more easily, and stick in the memory; for we do not need many words, but, rather, effective words.

Words should be scattered like seed; no matter how small the seed may be, if it has once found favourable ground, it unfolds its strength and from an insignificant thing spreads to its greatest growth.

Idem facit ratio; non late patet, si aspicias; in opere crescit. Pauca sunt, quae dicuntur, sed si illa animus bene excepit, convalescunt et exurgunt. Eadem est, inquam, praeceptorum condicio quae seminum; multum efficiunt, et angusta sunt. Tantum, ut dixi, idonea mens capiat[1] illa et in se trahat. Multa invicem et ipsa generabit et plus reddet quam acceperit. VALE.

XXXIX.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Commentarios, quos desideras, diligenter ordinatos et in angustum coactos ego vero conponam. Sed vide, ne plus profutura sit ratio ordinaria quam haec, quae nunc vulgo breviarium dicitur, olim cum latine loqueremur, summarium vocabatur. Illa res discenti magis necessaria est, haec scienti. Illa enim docet, haec admonet. Sed utriusque rei tibi copiam faciam. Tu a me non est quod illum aut illum exigas; qui
2 notorem dat, ignotus est. Scribam ergo quod vis,

[1] *capiat* later MSS.; *rapiat* pLPb.

[a] The regular method of studying philosophy was, as we infer from this letter, a course of reading in the philosophers. Seneca deprecates the use of the "cram," which is only a memory-help, as a substitute for reading, on the ground that by its use one does not, in the first place, learn the subject, and, in the second place and chiefly, that one loses the inspiration to be derived by direct contact with great thinkers. The request of Lucilius for a cram thus suggests the main topic of the letter, which is taken up in the second paragraph.

Reason grows in the same way; it is not large to the outward view, but increases as it does its work. Few words are spoken; but if the mind has truly caught them, they come into their strength and spring up. Yes, precepts and seeds have the same quality; they produce much, and yet they are slight things. Only, as I said, let a favourable mind receive and assimilate them. Then of itself the mind also will produce bounteously in its turn, giving back more than it has received. Farewell.

XXXIX. ON NOBLE ASPIRATIONS

I shall indeed arrange for you, in careful order and narrow compass, the notes which you request. But consider whether you may not get more help from the customary method [a] than from that which is now commonly called a "breviary," though in the good old days, when real Latin was spoken, it was called a "summary." [b] The former is more necessary to one who is learning a subject, the latter to one who knows it. For the one teaches, the other stirs the memory. But I shall give you abundant opportunity for both.[c] A man like you should not ask me for this authority or that; he who furnishes a voucher for his statements argues himself unknown. I shall therefore write exactly what you wish, but I shall

[b] *i.e.*, the word *breviarium*, "abridgment," "abstract," has displaced the better word *summarium*, "outline of chief points."

[c] *i.e.*, to do the reading and to review it by means of the summary. The reading will enable Lucilius to identify for himself the authors of the several passages or doctrines.

sed meo more; interim multos habes, quorum scripta nescio an satis ordinent. Sume in manus indicem philosophorum; haec ipsa res expergisci te coget, si videris, quam multi tibi laboraverint. Concupisces et ipse ex illis unus esse. Habet enim hoc optimum in se generosus animus, quod concitatur ad honesta.

Neminem excelsi ingenii virum humilia delectant et sordida; magnarum rerum species ad se vocat et
3 extollit. Quemadmodum flamma surgit in rectum, iacere ac deprimi non potest, non magis quam quiescere; ita noster animus in motu est, eo mobilior et actuosior, quo vehementior fuerit. Sed felix, qui ad meliora hunc inpetum dedit! Ponet se extra ius dicionemque fortunae. Secunda temperabit, adversa comminuet et aliis admiranda despiciet.
4 Magni animi est magna contemnere ac mediocria malle quam nimia. Illa enim utilia vitaliaque sunt; at haec eo, quod superfluunt, nocent. Sic segetem nimia sternit ubertas, sic rami nimio[1] onere franguntur, sic ad maturitatem non pervenit nimia fecunditas. Idem animis quoque evenit, quos inmoderata felicitas rumpit, qua non tantum in
5 aliorum iniuriam, sed etiam in suam utuntur. Qui hostis in quemquam tam contumeliosus fuit quam in quosdam voluptates suae sunt? Quorum inpotentiae atque insanae libidini ob hoc unum possis

[1] *nimio* added by Gertz.

do it in my own way; until then, you have many authors whose works will presumably keep your ideas sufficiently in order. Pick up the list of the philosophers; that very act will compel you to wake up, when you see how many men have been working for your benefit. You will desire eagerly to be one of them yourself. For this is the most excellent quality that the noble soul has within itself, that it can be roused to honourable things.

No man of exalted gifts is pleased with that which is low and mean; the vision of great achievement summons him and uplifts him. Just as the flame springs straight into the air and cannot be cabined or kept down any more than it can repose in quiet, so our soul is always in motion, and the more ardent it is, the greater its motion and activity. But happy is the man who has given it this impulse toward better things! He will place himself beyond the jurisdiction of chance; he will wisely control prosperity; he will lessen adversity, and will despise what others hold in admiration. It is the quality of a great soul to scorn great things and to prefer that which is ordinary rather than that which is too great. For the one condition is useful and life-giving; but the other does harm just because it is excessive. Similarly, too rich a soil makes the grain fall flat, branches break down under too heavy a load, excessive productiveness does not bring fruit to ripeness. This is the case with the soul also; for it is ruined by uncontrolled prosperity, which is used not only to the detriment of others, but also to the detriment of itself. What enemy was ever so insolent to any opponent as are their pleasures to certain men? The only excuse that we can allow for the incontinence and mad lust of these men is

ignoscere, quod quae fecere patiuntur. Nec inmerito hic illos furor vexat; necesse est enim in inmensum exeat cupiditas, quae naturalem modum transilit. Ille enim habet suum finem, inania et ex libidine
6 orta sine termino sunt. Necessaria metitur utilitas; supervacua quo redigis? Voluptatibus itaque se mergunt, quibus in consuetudinem adductis carere non possunt, et ob hoc miserrimi sunt, quod eo pervenerunt, ut illis quae supervacua fuerant, facta sint necessaria. Serviunt itaque voluptatibus, non fruuntur, et mala sua, quod malorum ultimum est, et[1] amant. Tunc autem est consummata infelicitas, ubi turpia non solum delectant, sed etiam placent, et desinit esse remedio locus, ubi quae fuerant vitia, mores sunt. Vale.

XL

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Quod frequenter mihi scribis, gratias ago. Nam quo uno modo potes, te mihi ostendis. Numquam epistulam tuam accipio, ut non protinus una simus. Si imagines nobis amicorum absentium iucundae sunt, quae memoriam renovant et desiderium[2] falso atque inani solacio levant, quanto iucundiores sunt litterae, quae vera amici absentis vestigia, veras notas

[1] *et* LPb; omitted by p.
[2] *absentiae*, after *desiderium*, is bracketed by Hense, following Gemoll.

[a] *i.e.*, their pleasures. These ills, by being cultivated, become vices.

the fact that they suffer the evils which they have inflicted upon others. And they are rightly harassed by this madness, because desire must have unbounded space for its excursions, if it transgresses nature's mean. For this has its bounds, but waywardness and the acts that spring from wilful lust are without boundaries. Utility measures our needs; but by what standard can you check the superfluous? It is for this reason that men sink themselves in pleasures, and they cannot do without them when once they have become accustomed to them, and for this reason they are most wretched, because they have reached such a pass that what was once superfluous to them has become indispensable. And so they are the slaves of their pleasures instead of enjoying them; they even love their own ills,[a]—and that is the worst ill of all! Then it is that the height of unhappiness is reached, when men are not only attracted, but even pleased, by shameful things, and when there is no longer any room for a cure, now that those things which once were vices have become habits. Farewell.

XL. ON THE PROPER STYLE FOR A PHILOSOPHER'S DISCOURSE

I thank you for writing to me so often; for you are revealing your real self to me in the only way you can. I never receive a letter from you without being in your company forthwith. If the pictures of our absent friends are pleasing to us, though they only refresh the memory and lighten our longing by a solace that is unreal and unsubstantial, how much more pleasant is a letter, which brings us real traces,

adferunt? Nam quod in conspectu dulcissimum est, id amici manus epistulae inpressa praestat, agnoscere.

2 Audisse te scribis Serapionem philosophum, cum istuc adplicuisset: "Solet magno cursu verba convellere, quae non effundit una, sed premit et urguet. Plura enim veniunt quam quibus vox una sufficiat." Hoc non probo in philosopho, cuius pronuntiatio quoque, sicut vita, debet esse conposita; nihil autem ordinatum est, quod praecipitatur et properat. Itaque oratio illa apud Homerum concitata et sine intermissione in morem nivis superveniens iuveniori[1] oratori data est, lenis et melle dulcior seni profluit.

3 Sic itaque habe, istam[2] vim dicendi rapidam atque abundantem aptiorem esse circulanti quam agenti rem magnam ac seriam docentique. Aeque stillare illum nolo quam currere; nec extendat aures nec obruat. Nam illa quoque inopia et exilitas minus intentum auditorem habet taedio interruptae tarditatis, facilius tamen insidit, quod exspectatur, quam quod praetervolat. Denique tradere homines discipulis praecepta dicuntur; non traditur quod fugit.

4 Adice nunc, quod quae veritati operam dat oratio, inconposita esse debet et simplex. Haec popularis

[1] *iuveniori* Hense; *iuveni* Haupt; omitted in MSS.
[2] *habe istam* later MSS.; *habe ut istam* pLPb.

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[a] This person cannot be identified.

[b] The explanation of Professor Summers seems sound, that the metaphor is taken from a mountain-torrent. Compare the description of Cratinus' style in Aristophanes, *Ach.* 526, or that of Pindar in Horace, *Od.* iv. 2. 5 ff.

[c] *Iliad*, iii. 222 (Odysseus), and i. 249 (Nestor).

real evidences, of an absent friend! For that which is sweetest when we meet face to face is afforded by the impress of a friend's hand upon his letter,—recognition.

You write me that you heard a lecture by the philosopher Serapio,[a] when he landed at your present place of residence. "He is wont," you say, "to wrench up his words with a mighty rush, and he does not let them flow forth one by one, but makes them crowd and dash upon each other.[b] For the words come in such quantity that a single voice is inadequate to utter them." I do not approve of this in a philosopher; his speech, like his life, should be composed; and nothing that rushes headlong and is hurried is well ordered. That is why, in Homer, the rapid style, which sweeps down without a break like a snow-squall, is assigned to the younger speaker; from the old man eloquence flows gently, sweeter than honey.[c]

Therefore, mark my words; that forceful manner of speech, rapid and copious, is more suited to a mountebank than to a man who is discussing and teaching an important and serious subject. But I object just as strongly that he should drip out his words as that he should go at top speed; he should neither keep the ear on the stretch, nor deafen it. For that poverty-stricken and thin-spun style also makes the audience less attentive because they are weary of its stammering slowness; nevertheless, the word which has been long awaited sinks in more easily than the word which flits past us on the wing. Finally, people speak of "handing down" precepts to their pupils; but one is not "handing down" that which eludes the grasp. Besides, speech that deals with the truth should be unadorned and plain. This

nihil habet veri; movere vult turbam et inconsultas aures inpetu rapere, tractandam se non praebet, aufertur. Quomodo autem regere potest, quae regi non potest? Quid, quod haec oratio, quae sanandis mentibus adhibetur, descendere in nos debet? Remedia non prosunt, nisi inmorantur.

5 Multum praeterea habet inanitatis et vani, plus sonat quam valet. Lenienda sunt, quae me exterrent, conpescenda, quae inritant, discutienda, quae fallunt, inhibenda luxuria, corripienda avaritia; quid horum raptim potest fieri? Quis medicus aegros in transitu curat? Quid, quod ne voluptatem quidem ullam habet talis verborum sine dilectu ruentium strepitus?

6 Sed ut pleraque, quae fieri posse non crederes, cognovisse satis est, ita istos, qui verba exercuerunt, abunde est semel audisse. Quid enim quis discere, quid imitari velit? Quid de eorum animo iudicet, quorum oratio perturbata et inmissa est nec potest reprimi?

7 Quemadmodum per proclive currentium non ubi visum est, gradus sistitur, sed incitato corporis pondere se rapit [1] ac longius quam voluit effertur; sic ista dicendi celeritas nec in sua potestate est nec satis decora philosophiae, quae ponere debet verba, non proicere, et pedetemptim procedere.

[1] *se rapit* later MSS.; *serpit* LPb; *serpitur* p.

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[a] Seneca's phrase, *quae fieri posse non crederes*, has been interpreted as a definition of παράδοξα. It is more probable, however, that he is comparing with the juggler's tricks the verbal performances of certain lecturers, whose jargon one marvels at but does not care to hear again.

popular style has nothing to do with the truth; its aim is to impress the common herd, to ravish heedless ears by its speed; it does not offer itself for discussion, but snatches itself away from discussion. But how can that speech govern others which cannot itself be governed? May I not also remark that all speech which is employed for the purpose of healing our minds, ought to sink into us? Remedies do not avail unless they remain in the system.

Besides, this sort of speech contains a great deal of sheer emptiness; it has more sound than power. My terrors should be quieted, my irritations soothed, my illusions shaken off, my indulgences checked, my greed rebuked. And which of these cures can be brought about in a hurry? What physician can heal his patient on a flying visit? May I add that such a jargon of confused and ill-chosen words cannot afford pleasure, either? No; but just as you are well satisfied, in the majority of cases, to have seen through tricks which you did not think could possibly be done,[a] so in the case of these word-gymnasts,—to have heard them once is amply sufficient. For what can a man desire to learn or to imitate in them? What is he to think of their souls, when their speech is sent into the charge in utter disorder, and cannot be kept in hand? Just as, when you run down hill, you cannot stop at the point where you had decided to stop, but your steps are carried along by the momentum of your body and are borne beyond the place where you wished to halt; so this speed of speech has no control over itself, nor is it seemly for philosophy; since philosophy should carefully place her words, not fling them out, and should proceed step by step.

8 "Quid ergo? Non aliquando et insurget?" Quidni? Sed salva dignitate morum, quam violenta ista et nimia vis exuit. Habeat vires magnas, moderatas tamen; perennis sit unda, non torrens. Vix oratori permiserim talem dicendi velocitatem inrevocabilem ac sine lege vadentem. Quemadmodum enim iudex subsequi poterit aliquando etiam inperitus et rudis? Tum quoque, cum illum aut ostentatio abstulerit aut affectus inpotens sui,[1] tantum festinet atque ingerat, quantum aures pati possunt.

9 Recte ergo facies, si non videris istos, qui quantum dicant, non quemadmodum quaerunt, et ipse malueris, si necesse est, ut P. Vinicius[2] dicere, qui titubat.[3] Cum quaereretur, quomodo P. Vinicius diceret, Asellius ait: "Tractim." Nam Geminus Varius ait: "Quomodo istum disertum dicatis nescio; tria verba non potest iungere." Quidni malis tu sic dicere,

10 quomodo Vinicius? Aliquis tam insulsus intervenerit quam qui illi singula verba vellenti, tamquam dictaret, non diceret, ait: "Dic, numquid[4] dicas." Nam Q. Hateri[5] cursum, suis temporibus oratoris celeberrimi, longe abesse ab homine sano volo; numquam dubitavit, numquam intermisit; semel incipiebat, semel desinebat.

[1] *affectus impotens sui* Muretus; *effectus impetus sui* MSS.
[2] *ut P. Vinicius* Madvig; *vel p. vinicium* MSS.; *velut P. Vinicius* Lipsius.
[3] *qui titubat* Capps; *qui itaque* MSS.
[4] *numquid* Buecheler; *numquam* MSS.
[5] *nam Q. Hateri* Lipsius; *namque hateri* pP; *namq. aetheri* L; *namque hereri* b.

[a] *Cf.* the Greek proverb, ἅμα ἔπος ἅμα ἔργον—"no sooner said than done,"—a construction imitated by Seneca.

"What then?" you say; "should not philosophy sometimes take a loftier tone?" Of course she should; but dignity of character should be preserved, and this is stripped away by such violent and excessive force. Let philosophy possess great forces, but kept well under control; let her stream flow unceasingly, but never become a torrent. And I should hardly allow even to an orator a rapidity of speech like this, which cannot be called back, which goes lawlessly ahead; for how could it be followed by jurors, who are often inexperienced and untrained? Even when the orator is carried away by his desire to show off his powers, or by uncontrollable emotion, even then he should not quicken his pace and heap up words to an extent greater than the ear can endure.

You will be acting rightly, therefore, if you do not regard those men who seek how much they may say, rather than how they shall say it, and if for yourself you choose, provided a choice must be made, to speak as Publius Vinicius the stammerer does. When Asellius was asked how Vinicius spoke, he replied: "Gradually"! (It was a remark of Geminus Varius, by the way: "I don't see how you can call that man 'eloquent'; why, he can't get out three words together.") Why, then, should you not choose to speak as Vinicius does? Though of course some wag may cross your path, like the person who said, when Vinicius was dragging out his words one by one, as if he were dictating and not speaking: "Say, haven't you anything to say?" And yet that were the better choice, for the rapidity of Quintus Haterius, the most famous orator of his age, is, in my opinion, to be avoided by a man of sense. Haterius never hesitated, never paused; he made only one start, and only one stop.[a]

11 Quaedam tamen et nationibus puto magis aut
minus convenire; in Graecis hanc licentiam tuleris;
nos etiam cum scribimus, interpungere adsuevimus.
Cicero quoque noster, a quo Romana eloquentia
exiluit, gradarius fuit. Romanus sermo magis se
circumspicit et aestimat praebetque aestimandum.
12 Fabianus, vir egregius et vita et scientia et, quod
post ista est, eloquentia quoque, disputabat expedite
magis quam concitate, ut posses dicere facilitatem
esse illam, non celeritatem. Hanc ego in viro
sapiente recipio, non exigo; ut oratio eius sine
impedimento exeat, proferatur tamen malo quam
profluat.

13 Eo autem magis te deterreo ab isto morbo, quod
non potest tibi ista res contingere aliter quam si te
pudere desierit; perfrices frontem oportet et te ipse
non audias. Multa enim inobservatus ille cursus
feret, quae reprehendere velis. Non potest, inquam,
tibi contingere res ista salva verecundia. Praeterea
exercitatione opus est cotidiana et a rebus studium
14 transferendum est ad verba. Haec autem etiam si
aderunt et poterunt sine ullo tuo labore decur-
rere, tamen temperanda sunt. Nam quemadmodum
sapienti viro incessus modestior convenit, ita oratio
pressa, non audax. Summa ergo summarum haec
erit: tardilocum esse te iubeo. VALE.

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[a] The Greek texts were still written without separation of the words, in contrast with the Roman.

[b] *Gradarius* may be contrasted with *tolutarius*, "trotter."

[c] *Cf.* Martial, xi. 27. 7 *aut cum perfricuit frontem posuitque pudorem.* After a violent rubbing, the face would not show blushes.

However, I suppose that certain styles of speech are more or less suitable to nations also; in a Greek you can put up with the unrestrained style, but we Romans, even when writing, have become accustomed to separate our words.[a] And our compatriot Cicero, with whom Roman oratory sprang into prominence, was also a slow pacer.[b] The Roman language is more inclined to take stock of itself, to weigh, and to offer something worth weighing. Fabianus, a man noteworthy because of his life, his knowledge, and, less important than either of these, his eloquence also, used to discuss a subject with dispatch rather than with haste; hence you might call it ease rather than speed. I approve this quality in the wise man; but I do not demand it; only let his speech proceed unhampered, though I prefer that it should be deliberately uttered rather than spouted.

However, I have this further reason for frightening you away from the latter malady, namely, that you could only be successful in practising this style by losing your sense of modesty; you would have to rub all shame from your countenance,[c] and refuse to hear yourself speak. For that heedless flow will carry with it many expressions which you would wish to criticize. And, I repeat, you could not attain it and at the same time preserve your sense of shame. Moreover, you would need to practise every day, and transfer your attention from subject matter to words. But words, even if they came to you readily and flowed without any exertion on your part, yet would have to be kept under control. For just as a less ostentatious gait becomes a philosopher, so does a restrained style of speech, far removed from boldness. Therefore, the ultimate kernel of my remarks is this: I bid you be slow of speech. Farewell.

XLI.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Facis rem optimam et tibi salutarem, si, ut scribis, perseveras ire ad bonam mentem, quam stultum est optare, cum possis a te impetrare. Non sunt ad caelum elevandae manus nec exorandus aedituus, ut nos ad aurem simulacri, quasi magis exaudiri possimus, admittat; prope est a te deus, tecum est, intus est.
2 Ita dico, Lucili: sacer intra nos spiritus sedet, malorum bonorumque nostrorum observator et custos. Hic prout a nobis tractatus est, ita nos ipse tractat. Bonus vero vir sine deo nemo est; an potest aliquis supra fortunam nisi ab illo adiutus exurgere? Ille dat consilia magnifica et erecta. In unoquoque virorum bonorum

Quis deus incertum est, habitat deus.

3 Si tibi occurrerit vetustis arboribus et solitam altitudinem egressis frequens lucus et conspectum caeli ramorum aliorum alios protegentium summovens obtentu,[1] illa proceritas silvae et secretum loci et admiratio umbrae in aperto tam densae atque continuae fidem tibi numinis faciet.[2] Si quis specus saxis penitus exesis montem suspenderit, non manu factus,

[1] *summovens obtentu* Hense; *summoventus* p; *summovens* LMP; *sub movens* b.
[2] *faciet* Madvig; *facit et* pLPb; *faciet et* later MSS.

XLI. ON THE GOD WITHIN US

You are doing an excellent thing, one which will be wholesome for you, if, as you write me, you are persisting in your effort to attain sound understanding; it is foolish to pray for this when you can acquire it from yourself. We do not need to uplift our hands towards heaven, or to beg the keeper of a temple to let us approach his idol's ear, as if in this way our prayers were more likely to be heard. God is near you, he is with you, he is within you. This is what I mean, Lucilius: a holy spirit indwells within us, one who marks our good and bad deeds, and is our guardian. As we treat this spirit, so are we treated by it. Indeed, no man can be good without the help of God. Can one rise superior to fortune unless God helps him to rise? He it is that gives noble and upright counsel. In each good man

> A god doth dwell, but what god know we not.[a]

If ever you have come upon a grove that is full of ancient trees which have grown to an unusual height, shutting out a view of the sky by a veil of pleached and intertwining branches, then the loftiness of the forest, the seclusion of the spot, and your marvel at the thick unbroken shade in the midst of the open spaces, will prove to you the presence of deity. Or if a cave, made by the deep crumbling of the rocks, holds up a mountain on its arch, a place not built

[a] Vergil, *Aeneid*, viii. 352,

> Hoc nemus, hunc, inquit, frondoso vertice collem,
> Quis deus incertum est, habitat deus,

and *cf.* Quintilian, i. 10. 88, where he is speaking of Ennius, whom "sicut sacros vetustate lucos adoremus, in quibus grandia et antiqua robora iam non tantam habent speciem quantam religionem."

sed naturalibus causis in tantam laxitatem excavatus, animum tuum quadam religionis suspicione percutiet. Magnorum fluminum capita veneramur; subita ex abdito vasti amnis eruptio aras habet; coluntur aquarum calentium fontes, et stagna quaedam vel
4 opacitas vel inmensa altitudo sacravit. Si hominem videris interritum periculis, intactum cupiditatibus, inter adversa felicem, in mediis tempestatibus placidum, ex superiore loco homines videntem, ex aequo deos, non subibit te veneratio eius? Non dices: "Ista res maior est altiorque quam ut credi similis huic, in quo est, corpusculo possit? Vis isto divina
5 descendit." Animum excellentem, moderatum, omnia tamquam minora transeuntem, quicquid timemus optamusque ridentem, caelestis potentia agitat. Non potest res tanta sine adminiculo numinis stare. Itaque maiore sui parte illic est, unde descendit. Quemadmodum radii solis contingunt quidem terram, sed ibi sunt, unde mittuntur; sic animus magnus ac sacer et in hoc demissus, ut propius[1] divina nossemus, conversatur quidem nobiscum, sed haeret origini suae; illinc pendet, illuc spectat ac nititur, nostris tamquam melior interest.

6 Quis est ergo hic animus? Qui nullo bono nisi

[1] After *propius* pLPbM add *quidem*. Hense would prefer *quiddam divini*.

with hands but hollowed out into such spaciousness by natural causes, your soul will be deeply moved by a certain intimation of the existence of God. We worship the sources of mighty rivers; we erect altars at places where great streams burst suddenly from hidden sources; we adore springs of hot water as divine, and consecrate certain pools because of their dark waters or their immeasurable depth. If you see a man who is unterrified in the midst of dangers, untouched by desires, happy in adversity, peaceful amid the storm, who looks down upon men from a higher plane, and views the gods on a footing of equality, will not a feeling of reverence for him steal over you? Will you not say: "This quality is too great and too lofty to be regarded as resembling this petty body in which it dwells? A divine power has descended upon that man." When a soul rises superior to other souls, when it is under control, when it passes through every experience as if it were of small account, when it smiles at our fears and at our prayers, it is stirred by a force from heaven. A thing like this cannot stand upright unless it be propped by the divine. Therefore, a greater part of it abides in that place from whence it came down to earth. Just as the rays of the sun do indeed touch the earth, but still abide at the source from which they are sent; even so the great and hallowed soul, which has come down in order that we may have a nearer knowledge of divinity, does indeed associate with us, but still cleaves to its origin; on that source it depends, thither it turns its gaze and strives to go, and it concerns itself with our doings only as a being superior to ourselves.

What, then, is such a soul? One which is resplendent with no external good, but only with its

suo nitet; quid enim est stultius quam in homine aliena laudare? Quid eo dementius, qui ea miratur, quae ad alium transferri protinus possunt? Non faciunt meliorem equum aurei freni. Aliter leo aurata iuba mittitur, dum contractatur et ad patientiam recipiendi ornamenti cogitur fatigatus, aliter incultus, integri spiritus; hic scilicet inpetu acer, qualem illum natura esse voluit, speciosus ex horrido, cuius hic decor est, non sine timore aspici, praefertur illi languido et bratteato.

7 Nemo gloriari nisi suo debet. Vitem laudamus, si fructu palmites onerat, si ipsa pondere[1] ad terram eorum, quae tulit, adminicula deducit; num quis huic illam praeferret vitem, cui aureae uvae, aurea folia dependent? Propria virtus est in vite fertilitas, in homine quoque id laudandum est, quod ipsius est. Familiam formosam habet et domum pulchram, multum serit, multum fenerat; nihil horum in ipso est, sed
8 circa ipsum. Lauda in illo, quod nec eripi potest nec dari, quod proprium hominis est. Quaeris quid sit? Animus et ratio in animo perfecta. Rationale enim animal est homo. Consummatur itaque bonum eius,
9 si id inplevit, cui nascitur. Quid est autem, quod ab illo ratio haec exigat? Rem facillimam, secundum

[1] *pondere* Erasmus; *pondera* MSS.

[a] The spectators of the fight, which is to take place between the two lions, applaud the wild lion and bet on him.

own. For what is more foolish than to praise in a man the qualities which come from without? And what is more insane than to marvel at characteristics which may at the next instant be passed on to someone else? A golden bit does not make a better horse. The lion with gilded mane, in process of being trained and forced by weariness to endure the decoration, is sent into the arena in quite a different way from the wild lion whose spirit is unbroken; the latter, indeed, bold in his attack, as nature wished him to be, impressive because of his wild appearance,—and it is his glory that none can look upon him without fear,—is favoured[a] in preference to the other lion, that languid and gilded brute.

No man ought to glory except in that which is his own. We praise a vine if it makes the shoots teem with increase, if by its weight it bends to the ground the very poles which hold its fruit; would any man prefer to this vine one from which golden grapes and golden leaves hang down? In a vine the virtue peculiarly its own is fertility; in man also we should praise that which is his own. Suppose that he has a retinue of comely slaves and a beautiful house, that his farm is large and large his income; none of these things is in the man himself; they are all on the outside. Praise the quality in him which cannot be given or snatched away, that which is the peculiar property of the man. Do you ask what this is? It is soul, and reason brought to perfection in the soul. For man is a reasoning animal. Therefore, man's highest good is attained, if he has fulfilled the good for which nature designed him at birth. And what is it which this reason demands of him? The easiest thing in the world,

naturam suam vivere.[a] Sed hanc difficilem facit communis insania; in vitia alter alterum trudimus. Quomodo autem revocari ad salutem possunt, quos nemo retinet, populus inpellit? VALE.

XLII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Iam tibi iste persuasit virum se bonum esse? Atqui vir bonus tam cito nec fieri potest nec intellegi. Scis quem nunc virum bonum dicam? Huius secundae notae. Nam ille alter fortasse tamquam phoenix semel anno quingentesimo nascitur. Nec est mirum ex intervallo magna generari; mediocria et in turbam nascentia saepe fortuna producit, eximia vero ipsa raritate commendat.

2 Sed iste multum adhuc abest ab eo, quod profitetur. Et si sciret, quid esset vir bonus, nondum esse se crederet, fortasse etiam fieri posse desperaret. "At male existimat de malis." Hoc etiam mali faciunt, nec ulla maior poena nequitiae est quam
3 quod sibi ac suis displicet. "At odit eos, qui subita et magna potentia inpotenter utuntur." Idem faciet,

[a] Seneca doubtless has in mind the famous passage of Simonides, ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀληθῶς γενέσθαι χαλεπόν, discussed by Plato, *Protagoras*, 339 A.

—to live in accordance with his own nature. But this is turned into a hard task by the general madness of mankind; we push one another into vice. And how can a man be recalled to salvation, when he has none to restrain him, and all mankind to urge him on? Farewell.

XLII. ON VALUES

Has that friend of yours already made you believe that he is a good man? And yet it is impossible in so short a time for one either to become good or be known as such.[a] Do you know what kind of man I now mean when I speak of "a good man"? I mean one of the second grade, like your friend. For one of the first class perhaps springs into existence, like the phoenix, only once in five hundred years. And it is not surprising, either, that greatness develops only at long intervals; Fortune often brings into being commonplace powers, which are born to please the mob; but she holds up for our approval that which is extraordinary by the very fact that she makes it rare.

This man, however, of whom you spoke, is still far from the state which he professes to have reached. And if he knew what it meant to be "a good man," he would not yet believe himself such; perhaps he would even despair of his ability to become good. "But," you say, "he thinks ill of evil men." Well, so do evil men themselves; and there is no worse penalty for vice than the fact that it is dissatisfied with itself and all its fellows. "But he hates those who make an ungoverned use of great power suddenly acquired." I retort that he will do the

cum idem potuerit. Multorum, quia inbecilla sunt, latent vitia, non minus ausura, cum illis vires suae placuerint, quam illa, quae iam felicitas aperuit.
4 Instrumenta illis explicandae nequitiae desunt. Sic tuto serpens etiam pestifera tractatur, dum riget frigore; non desunt tunc illi venena, sed torpent. Multorum crudelitas et ambitio et luxuria, ut paria pessimis audeat, fortunae favore deficitur. Eadem velle sic subinde cognosces[1]: da posse, quantum volunt.

5 Meministi, cum quendam adfirmares esse in tua potestate, dixisse me volaticum esse ac levem et te non pedem eius tenere, sed pennam. Mentitus sum? Pluma tenebatur, quam remisit et fugit. Scis, quos postea tibi exhibuerit ludos, quam multa in caput suum casura temptaverit. Non videbat se per aliorum pericula in suum ruere. Non cogitabat, quam onerosa essent, quae petebat, etiam si supervacua non essent.

6 Hoc itaque in his, quae adfectamus, ad quae labore magno contendimus, inspicere debemus, aut nihil in illis commodi esse aut plus incommodi. Quaedam supervacua sunt, quaedam tanti non sunt.

[1] *sic subinde cognosces* Capps; *subaudis cognosces* pPb; *si sub auditis cognoscis* L; *si avebis cognoscere* J. Mueller; *si iuvat audentis, cognosces* Buecheler.

same thing as soon as he acquires the same powers. In the case of many men, their vices, being powerless, escape notice; although, as soon as the persons in question have become satisfied with their own strength, the vices will be no less daring than those which prosperity has already disclosed. These men simply lack the means whereby they may unfold their wickedness. Similarly, one can handle even a poisonous snake while it is stiff with cold; the poison is not lacking; it is merely numbed into inaction. In the case of many men, their cruelty, ambition, and indulgence only lack the favour of Fortune to make them dare crimes that would match the worst. That their wishes are the same you will in a moment discover, in this way: give them the power equal to their wishes.

Do you remember how, when you declared that a certain person was under your influence, I pronounced him fickle and a bird of passage, and said that you held him not by the foot but merely by a wing? Was I mistaken? You grasped him only by a feather; he left it in your hands and escaped. You know what an exhibition he afterwards made of himself before you, how many of the things he attempted were to recoil upon his own head. He did not see that in endangering others he was tottering to his own downfall. He did not reflect how burdensome were the objects which he was bent upon attaining, even if they were not superfluous.

Therefore, with regard to the objects which we pursue, and for which we strive with great effort, we should note this truth; either there is nothing desirable in them, or the undesirable is preponderant. Some objects are superfluous; others are not worth

Sed hoc non pervidemus, et gratuita nobis videntur,
7 quae carissime constant. Ex eo licet stupor noster appareat, quod ea sola putamus emi, pro quibus pecuniam solvimus, ea gratuita vocamus, pro quibus nos ipsos inpendimus. Quae emere nollemus, si domus nobis nostra pro illis esset danda, si amoenum aliquod fructuosumve praedium, ad ea paratissimi sumus pervenire cum sollicitudine, cum periculo, cum iactura pudoris et libertatis et temporis; adeo nihil est cuique se vilius.

8 Idem itaque in omnibus consiliis rebusque faciamus, quod solemus facere, quotiens ad institorem alicuius mercis accessimus; videamus, hoc quod concupiscimus, quanti deferatur. Saepe maximum pretium est, pro quo nullum datur. Multa possum tibi ostendere, quae adquisita acceptaque libertatem nobis extorserint; nostri essemus, si ista nostra non essent.

9 Haec ergo tecum ipse versa, non solum ubi de incremento agetur, sed etiam ubi de iactura. "Hoc periturum est." Nempe adventicium fuit; tam facile sine isto vives quam vixisti. Si diu illud habuisti, perdis postquam satiatus es; si non diu, perdis antequam adsuescas. "Pecuniam minorem habebis."
10 Nempe et molestiam. "Gratiam minorem." Nempe et invidiam. Circumspice ista, quae nos agunt in insaniam, quae cum plurumis lacrimis amittimus; scies non damnum in is[1] molestum esse, sed opinionem

[1] *damnum in is* Hense; *damnum in his* or *dam numinis* MSS.

the price we pay for them. But we do not see this clearly, and we regard things as free gifts when they really cost us very dear. Our stupidity may be clearly proved by the fact that we hold that "buying" refers only to the objects for which we pay cash, and we regard as free gifts the things for which we spend our very selves. These we should refuse to buy, if we were compelled to give in payment for them our houses or some attractive and profitable estate; but we are eager to attain them at the cost of anxiety, of danger, and of lost honour, personal freedom, and time; so true it is that each man regards nothing as cheaper than himself.

Let us therefore act, in all our plans and conduct, just as we are accustomed to act whenever we approach a huckster who has certain wares for sale; let us see how much we must pay for that which we crave. Very often the things that cost nothing cost us the most heavily; I can show you many objects the quest and acquisition of which have wrested freedom from our hands. We should belong to ourselves, if only these things did not belong to us.

I would therefore have you reflect thus, not only when it is a question of gain, but also when it is a question of loss. "This object is bound to perish." Yes, it was a mere extra; you will live without it just as easily as you have lived before. If you have possessed it for a long time, you lose it after you have had your fill of it; if you have not possessed it long, then you lose it before you have become wedded to it. "You will have less money." Yes, and less trouble. "Less influence." Yes, and less envy. Look about you and note the things that drive us mad, which we lose with a flood of tears; you will perceive that it is not the loss that troubles us with

damni. Nemo illa perisse sentit, sed cogitat. Qui se habet, nihil perdidit. Sed quoto cuique habere se contigit? Vale.

XLIII.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Quomodo hoc ad me pervenerit quaeris, quis mihi
id te cogitare narraverit, quod tu nulli narraveras?
Is qui scit plurumum, rumor. "Quid ergo?" inquis,
"Tantus sum, ut possim excitare rumorem?" Non
est quod te ad hunc locum respiciens metiaris; ad
2 istum respice, in quo moraris. Quicquid inter vicina
eminet, magnum est illic, ubi eminet. Nam magni-
tudo non habet[1] modum certum; comparatio illam
aut tollit[2] aut deprimit. Navis, quae in flumine
magna est, in mari parvula est. Gubernaculum, quod
alteri navi magnum, alteri exiguum est.

3 Tu nunc in provincia, licet contemnas ipse te,
magnus es. Quid agas, quemadmodum cenes, quem-
admodum dormias, quaeritur, scitur; eo tibi dili-
gentius vivendum est. Tunc autem felicem esse te
iudica, cum poteris in publico vivere, cum te parietes
tui tegent, non abscondent, quos plerumque circum-
datos nobis iudicamus non ut tutius vivamus, sed ut
4 peccemus occultius. Rem dicam, ex qua mores
aestimes nostros: vix quemquam invenies, qui possit

[1] *non habet* later MSS.; *habet* pLg.
[2] *tollit* L; *attollit* L second hand and codd. Wirc. and Erlang.

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[a] *i.e.*, Rome.
[b] Lucilius was at this time imperial procurator in Sicily.

reference to these things, but a notion of loss. No one feels that they have been lost, but his mind tells him that it has been so. He that owns himself has lost nothing. But how few men are blessed with ownership of self! Farewell.

XLIII. ON THE RELATIVITY OF FAME

Do you ask how the news reached me, and who informed me, that you were entertaining this idea, of which you had said nothing to a single soul? It was that most knowing of persons,—gossip. "What," you say, "am I such a great personage that I can stir up gossip?" Now there is no reason why you should measure yourself according to this part of the world [a]; have regard only to the place where you are dwelling. Any point which rises above adjacent points is great, at the spot where it rises. For greatness is not absolute; comparison increases it or lessens it. A ship which looms large in the river seems tiny when on the ocean. A rudder which is large for one vessel, is small for another.

So you in your province [b] are really of importance, though you scorn yourself. Men are asking what you do, how you dine, and how you sleep, and they find out, too; hence there is all the more reason for your living circumspectly. Do not, however, deem yourself truly happy until you find that you can live before men's eyes, until your walls protect but do not hide you; although we are apt to believe that these walls surround us, not to enable us to live more safely, but that we may sin more secretly. I shall mention a fact by which you may weigh the worth of a man's character: you will scarcely find anyone

aperto ostio vivere. Ianitores conscientia nostra, non
superbia opposuit; sic vivimus, ut deprendi sit subito
adspici. Quid autem prodest recondere se et oculos
5 hominum auresque vitare? Bona conscientia turbam
advocat, mala etiam in solitudine anxia atque sollicita
est. Si honesta sunt quae facis, omnes sciant, si
turpia, quid refert neminem scire, cum tu scias? O
te miserum, si contemnis hunc testem! Vale.

XLIIII.

Seneca Lucilio suo salutem

1 Iterum tu mihi te pusillum facis et dicis malignius
tecum egisse naturam prius, deinde fortunam, cum
possis eximere te vulgo et ad felicitatem hominum
maximam emergere. Si quid est aliud in philosophia
boni, hoc est, quod stemma non inspicit. Omnes, si
2 ad originem primam revocantur, a dis sunt. Eques
Romanus es, et ad hunc ordinem tua te perduxit
industria; at mehercules multis quattuordecim clausa
sunt; non omnes curia admittit; castra quoque, quos
ad laborem et periculum recipiant, fastidiose legunt.
Bona mens omnibus patet, omnes ad hoc sumus
nobiles. Nec reicit quemquam philosophia nec
3 eligit; omnibus lucet. Patricius Socrates non fuit.

[a] Alluding to the seats reserved for the knights at the theatre.

who can live with his door wide open. It is our conscience, not our pride, that has put doorkeepers at our doors; we live in such a fashion that being suddenly disclosed to view is equivalent to being caught in the act. What profits it, however, to hide ourselves away, and to avoid the eyes and ears of men? A good conscience welcomes the crowd, but a bad conscience, even in solitude, is disturbed and troubled. If your deeds are honourable, let everybody know them; if base, what matters it that no one knows them, as long as you yourself know them? How wretched you are if you despise such a witness! Farewell.

XLIV. ON PHILOSOPHY AND PEDIGREES

You are again insisting to me that you are a nobody, and saying that nature in the first place, and fortune in the second, have treated you too scurvily, and this in spite of the fact that you have it in your power to separate yourself from the crowd and rise to the highest human happiness! If there is any good in philosophy, it is this,—that it never looks into pedigrees. All men, if traced back to their original source, spring from the gods. You are a Roman knight, and your persistent work promoted you to this class; yet surely there are many to whom the fourteen rows are barred;[a] the senate-chamber is not open to all; the army, too, is scrupulous in choosing those whom it admits to toil and danger. But a noble mind is free to all men; according to this test, we may all gain distinction. Philosophy neither rejects nor selects anyone; its light shines for all. Socrates was no aristocrat. Cleanthes

Cleanthes aquam traxit et rigando horto locavit manus. Platonem non accepit nobilem philosophia, sed fecit. Quid est quare desperes his te posse fieri parem? Omnes hi maiores tui sunt, si te illis geris dignum; geres autem, si hoc protinus tibi ipse per-
4 suaseris, a nullo te nobilitate superari. Omnibus nobis totidem ante nos sunt; nullius non origo ultra memoriam iacet. Platon ait neminem regem non ex servis esse oriundum, neminem servum non[1] ex regibus. Omnia ista longa varietas miscuit et sursum deorsum
5 fortuna versavit. Quis est generosus? Ad virtutem bene a natura conpositus. Hoc unum intuendum est; alioquin si ad vetera revocas, nemo non inde est, ante quod nihil est. A primo mundi ortu usque in hoc tempus perduxit nos ex splendidis sordidisque alternata series. Non facit nobilem atrium plenum fumosis imaginibus. Nemo in nostram gloriam vixit nec quod ante nos fuit, nostrum est; animus facit nobilem, cui ex quacumque condicione supra fortunam licet surgere.

6 Puta itaque te non equitem Romanum esse, sed libertinum; potes hoc consequi, ut solus sis liber inter ingenuos. "Quomodo?" inquis. Si mala bonaque non populo auctore distinxeris. Intuendum est

[1] *servum non* Madvig; *non servum* MSS.

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[a] Plato, *Theaetetus*, p. 174 E.

[b] Compare with the whole argument Menander, Frag. 533 Kock, ending: ὃς ἂν εὖ γεγονὼς ᾖ τῇ φύσει πρὸς τἀγαθά, κἂν Αἰθίοψ ᾖ, μῆτερ, ἐστὶν εὐγενής.

worked at a well and served as a hired man watering a garden. Philosophy did not find Plato already a nobleman; it made him one. Why then should you despair of becoming able to rank with men like these? They are all your ancestors, if you conduct yourself in a manner worthy of them; and you will do so if you convince yourself at the outset that no man outdoes you in real nobility. We have all had the same number of forefathers; there is no man whose first beginning does not transcend memory. Plato says: "Every king springs from a race of slaves, and every slave has had kings among his ancestors." [a] The flight of time, with its vicissitudes, has jumbled all such things together, and Fortune has turned them upside down. Then who is well-born? He who is by nature well fitted for virtue. That is the one point to be considered; otherwise, if you hark back to antiquity, every one traces back to a date before which there is nothing. From the earliest beginnings of the universe to the present time, we have been led forward out of origins that were alternately illustrious and ignoble. A hall full of smoke-begrimed busts does not make the nobleman. No past life has been lived to lend us glory, and that which has existed before us is not ours; the soul alone renders us noble, and it may rise superior to Fortune out of any earlier condition, no matter what that condition has been.[b]

Suppose, then, that you were not a Roman knight, but a freedman, you might nevertheless by your own efforts come to be the only free man amid a throng of gentlemen. "How?" you ask. Simply by distinguishing between good and bad things without patterning your opinion from the populace. You should look, not to the source from which these

non unde veniant, sed quo eant. Si quid est, quod vitam beatam potest facere, id bonum est suo iure.
7 Depravari enim in malum non potest. Quid est ergo, in quo erratur, cum omnes beatam vitam optent? Quod instrumenta eius pro ipsa habent et illam, dum petunt, fugiunt. Nam cum summa vitae beatae sit solida securitas et eius inconcussa fiducia, sollicitudinis colligunt causas et per insidiosum iter vitae non tantum ferunt sarcinas, sed trahunt; ita longius ab effectu eius, quod petunt, semper abscedunt et quo plus operae inpenderunt, hoc se magis impediunt et feruntur retro. Quod evenit in labyrintho properantibus; ipsa illos velocitas inplicat. VALE.

XLV.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Librorum istic inopiam esse quereris. Non refert, quam multos, sed quam bonos habeas; lectio certa prodest, varia delectat. Qui, quo destinavit, pervenire vult, unam sequatur viam, non per multas vagetur. Non ire istuc, sed errare est.

2 "Vellem,"[1] inquis, "magis consilium mihi quam libros dares." Ego vero quoscumque habeo, mittere paratus sum et totum horreum excutere. Me quoque

[1] As Hense suggests, we should from the context expect *nollem* rather than *vellem*.

things come, but to the goal towards which they tend. If there is anything that can make life happy, it is good on its own merits; for it cannot degenerate into evil. Where, then, lies the mistake, since all men crave the happy life? It is that they regard the means for producing happiness as happiness itself, and, while seeking happiness, they are really fleeing from it. For although the sum and substance of the happy life is unalloyed freedom from care, and though the secret of such freedom is unshaken confidence, yet men gather together that which causes worry, and, while travelling life's treacherous road, not only have burdens to bear, but even draw burdens to themselves; hence they recede farther and farther from the achievement of that which they seek, and the more effort they expend, the more they hinder themselves and are set back. This is what happens when you hurry through a maze; the faster you go, the worse you are entangled. Farewell.

XLV. ON SOPHISTICAL ARGUMENTATION

You complain that in your part of the world there is a scant supply of books. But it is quality, rather than quantity, that matters; a limited list of reading benefits; a varied assortment serves only for delight. He who would arrive at the appointed end must follow a single road and not wander through many ways. What you suggest is not travelling; it is mere tramping.

"But," you say, "I should rather have you give me advice than books." Still, I am ready to send you all the books I have, to ransack the whole storehouse. If it were possible, I should join you there

isto, si possem, transferrem, et nisi mature te finem officii sperarem inpetraturum, hanc senilem expeditionem indixissem mihi nec me Charybdis et Scylla et fabulosum istud fretum deterrere potuissent. Tranassem ista, non solum traiecissem, dummodo te conplecti possem et praesens aestimare, quantum animo crevisses.

3 Ceterum quod libros meos tibi mitti desideras, non magis ideo me disertum puto quam formosum putarem, si imaginem meam peteres. Indulgentiae scio istud esse, non iudicii. Et si modo iudicii est, indulgentia
4 tibi inposuit. Sed qualescumque sunt, tu illos sic lege, tamquam verum quaeram adhuc, non sciam, et contumaciter quaeram. Non enim me cuiquam emancipavi, nullius nomen fero. Multum magnorum virorum iudicio credo, aliquid et meo vindico. Nam illi quoque non inventa, sed quaerenda nobis reliquerunt, et invenissent forsitan necessaria, nisi et super-
5 vacua quaesissent. Multum illis temporis verborum cavillatio eripuit, captiosae disputationes, quae acumen irritum exercent. Nectimus nodos et ambiguam significationem verbis inligamus ac deinde dissolvimus.

Tantum nobis vacat? Iam vivere, iam mori scimus? Tota illo mente pergendum est, ubi pro-
6 videri debet, ne res nos, non verba, decipiant. Quid

myself; and were it not for the hope that you will soon complete your term of office, I should have imposed upon myself this old man's journey; no Scylla or Charybdis or their storied straits could have frightened me away. I should not only have crossed over, but should have been willing to swim over those waters, provided that I could greet you and judge in your presence how much you had grown in spirit.

Your desire, however, that I should dispatch to you my own writings does not make me think myself learned, any more than a request for my picture would flatter my beauty. I know that it is due to your charity rather than to your judgment. And even if it is the result of judgment, it was charity that forced the judgment upon you. But whatever the quality of my works may be, read them as if I were still seeking, and were not aware of, the truth, and were seeking it obstinately, too. For I have sold myself to no man; I bear the name of no master. I give much credit to the judgment of great men; but I claim something also for my own. For these men, too, have left to us, not positive discoveries, but problems whose solution is still to be sought. They might perhaps have discovered the essentials, had they not sought the superfluous also. They lost much time in quibbling about words and in sophistical argumentation; all that sort of thing exercises the wit to no purpose. We tie knots and bind up words in double meanings, and then try to untie them.

Have we leisure enough for this? Do we already know how to live, or die? We should rather proceed with our whole souls towards the point where it is our duty to take heed lest things, as well as words, deceive us. Why, pray, do you discriminate between

mihi vocum similitudines distinguis, quibus nemo umquam nisi dum disputat captus est? Res fallunt; illas discerne. Pro bonis mala amplectimur; optamus contra id, quod optavimus. Pugnant vota nostra cum
7 votis, consilia cum consiliis. Adulatio quam similis est amicitiae! Non imitatur tantum illam, sed vincit et praeterit; apertis ac propitiis auribus recipitur et in praecordia ima descendit, eo ipso gratiosa, quo laedit. Doce quemadmodum hanc similitudinem possim dinoscere. Venit ad me pro amico blandus inimicus. Vitia nobis sub virtutum nomine obrepunt, temeritas sub titulo fortitudinis latet, moderatio vocatur ignavia, pro cauto timidus accipitur; in his magno periculo erramus. His certas notas inprime.

8 Ceterum qui interrogatur, an cornua habeat, non est tam stultus, ut frontem suam temptet, nec rursus tam ineptus aut hebes, ut ne sciat tu illi subtilissima collectione persuaseris.[1] Sic ista sine noxa decipiunt, quomodo praestigiatorum acetabula et calculi, in quibus me fallacia ipsa delectat. Effice, ut quomodo fiat intellegam; perdidi usum. Idem de istis captionibus dico; quo enim nomine potius sophismata appellem? Nec ignoranti nocent nec scientem iu-
9 vant. Si utique vis verborum ambiguitates diducere, hoc nos doce, beatum non eum esse, quem vulgus

[1] Buecheler supposes a lacuna in this sentence, which he would fill: *ut nesciat aliter esse ac tu illi* etc., "so that he does not know the facts to be far different from what you have persuaded him, by the subtlest argumentation, to believe."

[a] *Cf.* Gellius, xviii. 2. 9 *quod non perdidisti, habes; cornua non perdidisti; habes igitur cornua; cf.* also Seneca, *Ep.* xlviii.

similar words, when nobody is ever deceived by them except during the discussion? It is things that lead us astray: it is between things that you must discriminate. We embrace evil instead of good; we pray for something opposite to that which we have prayed for in the past. Our prayers clash with our prayers, our plans with our plans. How closely flattery resembles friendship! It not only apes friendship, but outdoes it, passing it in the race; with wide-open and indulgent ears it is welcomed and sinks to the depths of the heart, and it is pleasing precisely wherein it does harm. Show me how I may be able to see through this resemblance! An enemy comes to me full of compliments, in the guise of a friend. Vices creep into our hearts under the name of virtues, rashness lurks beneath the appellation of bravery, moderation is called sluggishness, and the coward is regarded as prudent; there is great danger if we go astray in these matters. So stamp them with special labels.

Then, too, the man who is asked whether he has horns on his head [a] is not such a fool as to feel for them on his forehead, nor again so silly or dense that you can persuade him by means of argumentation, no matter how subtle, that he does not know the facts. Such quibbles are just as harmlessly deceptive as the juggler's cup and dice, in which it is the very trickery that pleases me. But show me how the trick is done, and I have lost my interest therein. And I hold the same opinion about these tricky word-plays; for by what other name can one call such sophistries? Not to know them does no harm, and mastering them does no good. At any rate, if you wish to sift doubtful meanings of this kind, teach us that the happy man is not he whom the crowd

appellat, ad quem pecunia magna confluxit, sed illum, cui bonum omne in animo est, erectum et excelsum et mutabilia [1] calcantem, qui neminem videt, cum quo se conmutatum velit, qui hominem ea sola parte aestimat, qua homo est, qui natura magistra utitur, ad illius leges conponitur, sic vivit, quomodo illa praescripsit, cui bona sua nulla vis excutit, qui mala in bonum vertit, certus iudicii, inconcussus, intrepidus, quem aliqua vis movet, nulla perturbat, quem fortuna, cum quod habuit telum nocentissimum vi maxima intorsit, pungit, non vulnerat, et hoc raro. Nam cetera eius tela, quibus genus humanum debellatur, grandinis more dissultant, quae incussa tectis sine ullo habitatoris incommodo crepitat ac solvitur.

10 Quid me detines in eo, quem tu ipse pseudomenon appellas, de quo tantum librorum conpositum est? Ecce tota mihi vita mentitur; hanc coargue, hanc ad verum, si acutus es, redige. Necessaria iudicat, quorum magna pars supervacua est. Etiam quae non est supervacua, nihil in se momenti habet in hoc, ut possit fortunatum beatumque praestare. Non enim statim bonum est, si quid necessarium est; aut proicimus bonum, si hoc nomen pani et polentae
11 damus et ceteris, sine quibus vita non ducitur. Quod bonum est, utique necessarium est; quod necessarium est, non utique bonum est, quoniam quidem necessaria sunt quaedam eadem vilissima. Nemo usque eo dignitatem boni ignorat, ut illud ad haec in diem utilia demittat.

[1] *mutabilia* Haupt; *mirabilia* MSS.

[a] *e.g.* Gellius, xviii. 2. 10 *cum mentior et mentiri me dico, mentior an verum dico?*

deems happy, namely, he into whose coffers mighty sums have flowed, but he whose possessions are all in his soul, who is upright and exalted, who spurns inconstancy, who sees no man with whom he wishes to change places, who rates men only at their value as men, who takes Nature for his teacher, conforming to her laws and living as she commands, whom no violence can deprive of his possessions, who turns evil into good, is unerring in judgment, unshaken, unafraid, who may be moved by force but never moved to distraction, whom Fortune when she hurls at him with all her might the deadliest missile in her armoury, may graze, though rarely, but never wound. For Fortune's other missiles, with which she vanquishes mankind in general, rebound from such a one, like hail which rattles on the roof with no harm to the dweller therein, and then melts away.

Why do you bore me with that which you yourself call the "liar" fallacy,[a] about which so many books have been written? Come now, suppose that my whole life is a lie; prove that to be wrong and, if you are sharp enough, bring that back to the truth. At present it holds things to be essential of which the greater part is superfluous. And even that which is not superfluous is of no significance in respect to its power of making one fortunate and blest. For if a thing be necessary, it does not follow that it is a good. Else we degrade the meaning of "good," if we apply that name to bread and barley-porridge and other commodities without which we cannot live. The good must in every case be necessary; but that which is necessary is not in every case a good, since certain very paltry things are indeed necessary. No one is to such an extent ignorant of the noble meaning of the word "good," as to debase it to the level of these humdrum utilities.

12 Quid ergo? Non eo potius curam transferes, ut ostendas omnibus magno temporis inpendio quaeri supervacua et multos transisse vitam, dum vitae instrumenta conquirunt? Recognosce singulos, considera universos; nullius non vita spectat in crastinum.
13 Quid in hoc sit mali, quaeris? Infinitum. Non enim vivunt, sed victuri sunt. Omnia differunt. Etiamsi adtenderemus, tamen nos vita praecurreret; nunc vero cunctantes quasi aliena transcurrit et ultimo die finitur, omni perit.

Sed ne epistulae modum excedam, quae non debet sinistram manum legentis inplere, in alium diem hanc litem cum dialecticis differam nimium subtilibus et hoc solum curantibus, non et hoc. Vale.

XLVI.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Librum tuum, quem mihi promiseras, accepi et tamquam lecturus ex commodo adaperui ac tantum degustare volui. Deinde blanditus est ipse, ut procederem longius. Qui quam disertus fuerit, ex hoc intellegas licet; levis mihi visus est, cum esset nec mei nec tui corporis, sed qui primo aspectu aut Titi Livii aut Epicuri posset videri. Tanta autem dulcedine me tenuit et traxit, ut illum sine ulla

[a] A book was unrolled with the right hand; the reader gathered up the part already perused with his left hand. Nearly all books at this time were papyrus rolls, as were letters of any great length.

What, then? Shall you not rather transfer your efforts to making it clear to all men that the search for the superfluous means a great outlay of time, and that many have gone through life merely accumulating the instruments of life? Consider individuals, survey men in general; there is none whose life does not look forward to the morrow. "What harm is there in this," you ask? Infinite harm; for such persons do not live, but are preparing to live. They postpone everything. Even if we paid strict attention, life would soon get ahead of us; but as we are now, life finds us lingering and passes us by as if it belonged to another, and though it ends on the final day, it perishes every day.

But I must not exceed the bounds of a letter, which ought not to fill the reader's left hand.[a] So I shall postpone to another day our case against the hair-splitters, those over-subtle fellows who make argumentation supreme instead of subordinate. Farewell.

XLVI. ON A NEW BOOK BY LUCILIUS

I received the book of yours which you promised me. I opened it hastily with the idea of glancing over it at leisure; for I meant only to taste the volume. But by its own charm the book coaxed me into traversing it more at length. You may understand from this fact how eloquent it was; for it seemed to be written in the smooth style,[b] and yet did not resemble your handiwork or mine, but at first sight might have been ascribed to Titus Livius or to Epicurus. Moreover, I was so impressed and carried along by its charm that I finished it without

[b] Possibly *levis* in the sense of *light*, referring to size.

dilatione perlegerim. Sol me invitabat, fames admonebat, nubes minabantur; tamen exhausi totum.

2 Non tantum delectatus, sed gavisus sum. Quid ingenii iste habuit, quid animi! Dicerem, quid inpetus, si interquievisset, si ex intervallo[1] surrexisset; nunc non fuit inpetus, sed tenor, conpositio virilis et sancta; nihilominus interveniebat dulce illud et loco lene. Grandis, erectus es; hoc te volo tenere, sic ire. Fecit aliquid et materia; ideo eligenda est fertilis, quae capiat ingenium, quae incitet.

3 De libro[2] plura scribam cum illum retractavero; nunc parum mihi sedet iudicium, tamquam audierim illa, non legerim. Sine me et inquirere. Non est quod verearis; verum audies. O te hominem felicem, quod nihil habes, propter quod quisquam tibi tam longe mentiatur! Nisi quod iam etiam ubi causa sublata est, mentimur consuetudinis causa. Vale.

XLVII.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Libenter ex is,[3] qui a te veniunt, cognovi familiariter te cum servis tuis vivere. Hoc prudentiam tuam, hoc eruditionem decet. "Servi sunt." Immo homines. "Servi sunt." Immo contubernales.

[1] *si ex intervallo* Madvig; *si intervallo* LPb.
[2] *de libro* later MSS.; *libro* pLPb.
[3] *is* Hense: *his* or *iis* MSS.

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[a] Much of the following is quoted by Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 11. 7 ff., in the passage beginning *vis tu cogitare eos, quos ius tuum vocas, isdem seminibus ortos eodem frui caelo*, etc.

any postponement. The sunlight called to me, hunger warned, and clouds were lowering; but I absorbed the book from beginning to end.

I was not merely pleased; I rejoiced. So full of wit and spirit it was! I should have added "force," had the book contained moments of repose, or had it risen to energy only at intervals. But I found that there was no burst of force, but an even flow, a style that was vigorous and chaste. Nevertheless I noticed from time to time your sweetness, and here and there that mildness of yours. Your style is lofty and noble; I want you to keep to this manner and this direction. Your subject also contributed something; for this reason you should choose productive topics, which will lay hold of the mind and arouse it.

I shall discuss the book more fully after a second perusal; meantime, my judgment is somewhat unsettled, just as if I had heard it read aloud, and had not read it myself. You must allow me to examine it also. You need not be afraid; you shall hear the truth. Lucky fellow, to offer a man no opportunity to tell you lies at such long range! Unless perhaps, even now, when excuses for lying are taken away, custom serves as an excuse for our telling each other lies! Farewell.

XLVII. ON MASTER AND SLAVE

I am glad to learn, through those who come from you, that you live on friendly terms with your slaves. This befits a sensible and well-educated man like yourself. "They are slaves," people declare.[a] Nay, rather they are men. "Slaves!" No, comrades.

"Servi sunt." Immo humiles amici. "Servi sunt." Immo conservi, si cogitaveris tantundem in utrosque licere fortunae.

2 Itaque rideo istos, qui turpe existimant cum servo suo cenare. Quare, nisi quia superbissima consuetudo cenanti domino stantium servorum turbam circumdedit? Est ille plus quam capit, et ingenti aviditate onerat distentum ventrem ac desuetum iam ventris officio, ut maiore opera omnia egerat quam ingessit;
3 at infelicibus servis movere labra ne in hoc quidem, ut loquantur, licet. Virga murmur omne conpescitur, et ne fortuita quidem verberibus excepta sunt, tussis, sternumenta, singultus. Magno malo ulla voce interpellatum silentium luitur. Nocte tota ieiuni mutique perstant.

4 Sic fit, ut isti de domino loquantur, quibus coram domino loqui non licet. At illi, quibus non tantum coram dominis, sed cum ipsis erat sermo, quorum os non consuebatur, parati erant pro domino porrigere cervicem, periculum inminens in caput suum avertere; in conviviis loquebantur, sed in tormentis tacebant.
5 Deinde eiusdem arrogantiae proverbium iactatur, totidem hostes esse quot servos. Non habemus illos hostes, sed facimus.

Alia interim crudelia, inhumana praetereo, quod ne tamquam hominibus quidem, sed tamquam

"Slaves!" No, they are unpretentious friends. "Slaves!" No, they are our fellow-slaves, if one reflects that Fortune has equal rights over slaves and free men alike.

That is why I smile at those who think it degrading for a man to dine with his slave. But why should they think it degrading? It is only because purse-proud etiquette surrounds a householder at his dinner with a mob of standing slaves. The master eats more than he can hold, and with monstrous greed loads his belly until it is stretched and at length ceases to do the work of a belly; so that he is at greater pains to discharge all the food than he was to stuff it down. All this time the poor slaves may not move their lips, even to speak. The slightest murmur is repressed by the rod; even a chance sound,—a cough, a sneeze, or a hiccup,—is visited with the lash. There is a grievous penalty for the slightest breach of silence. All night long they must stand about, hungry and dumb.

The result of it all is that these slaves, who may not talk in their master's presence, talk about their master. But the slaves of former days, who were permitted to converse not only in their master's presence, but actually with him, whose mouths were not stitched up tight, were ready to bare their necks for their master, to bring upon their own heads any danger that threatened him; they spoke at the feast, but kept silence during torture. Finally, the saying, in allusion to this same high-handed treatment, becomes current: "As many enemies as you have slaves." They are not enemies when we acquire them; we make them enemies.

I shall pass over other cruel and inhuman conduct towards them; for we maltreat them, not as if they

iumentis abutimur. Cum[1] ad cenandum discubuimus, alius sputa detergit, alius reliquias temulentorum
6 toro[2] subditus colligit. Alius pretiosas aves scindit; per pectus et clunes certis ductibus circumferens eruditam manum frusta excutit, infelix, qui huic uni rei vivit, ut altilia decenter secet, nisi quod miserior est, qui hoc voluptatis causa docet quam
7 qui necessitatis discit. Alius vini minister in muliebrem modum ornatus cum aetate luctatur; non potest effugere pueritiam, retrahitur, iamque militari habitu glaber retritis pilis aut penitus evulsis tota nocte pervigilat, quam inter ebrietatem domini ac libidinem dividit et in cubiculo vir, in convivio puer
8 est. Alius, cui convivarum censura permissa est, perstat infelix et exspectat, quos adulatio et intemperantia aut gulae aut linguae revocet in crastinum. Adice obsonatores, quibus dominici palati notitia subtilis est, qui sciunt, cuius illum rei sapor excitet, cuius delectet aspectus, cuius novitate nauseabundus erigi possit, quid iam ipsa satietate fastidiat, quid illo die esuriat. Cum his cenare non sustinet et maiestatis suae deminutionem putat ad eandem mensam cum servo suo accedere. Di melius!

[1] Before *cum* MSS. give *quod*; Buecheler removed it.
[2] *toro* was inserted by O. Rossbach.

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[a] *Glabri*, *delicati*, or *exoleti* were favourite slaves, kept artificially youthful by Romans of the more dissolute class. *Cf.* Catullus, lxi. 142, and Seneca, *De Brevitate Vitae*, 12. 5 (a passage closely resembling the description given above by Seneca), where the master prides himself upon the elegant appearance and graceful gestures of these favourites.

were men, but as if they were beasts of burden. When we recline at a banquet, one slave mops up the disgorged food, another crouches beneath the table and gathers up the left-overs of the tipsy guests. Another carves the priceless game birds; with unerring strokes and skilled hand he cuts choice morsels along the breast or the rump. Hapless fellow, to live only for the purpose of cutting fat capons correctly,—unless, indeed, the other man is still more unhappy than he, who teaches this art for pleasure's sake, rather than he who learns it because he must. Another, who serves the wine, must dress like a woman and wrestle with his advancing years; he cannot get away from his boyhood; he is dragged back to it; and though he has already acquired a soldier's figure, he is kept beardless by having his hair smoothed away or plucked out by the roots, and he must remain awake throughout the night, dividing his time between his master's drunkenness and his lust; in the chamber he must be a man, at the feast a boy.[a] Another, whose duty it is to put a valuation on the guests, must stick to his task, poor fellow, and watch to see whose flattery and whose immodesty, whether of appetite or of language, is to get them an invitation for to-morrow. Think also of the poor purveyors of food, who note their masters' tastes with delicate skill, who know what special flavours will sharpen their appetite, what will please their eyes, what new combinations will rouse their cloyed stomachs, what food will excite their loathing through sheer satiety, and what will stir them to hunger on that particular day. With slaves like these the master cannot bear to dine; he would think it beneath his dignity to associate with his slave at the same table! Heaven forfend!

9 Quot ex istis dominos habet[1]! Stare ante limen Callisti dominum suum vidi et eum, qui illi inpegerat titulum, qui inter reicula[2] mancipia produxerat, aliis intrantibus excludi. Rettulit illi gratiam servus ille in primam decuriam coniectus, in qua vocem praeco experitur; et ipse illum invicem apologavit, et ipse non iudicavit domo sua dignum. Dominus Callistum vendidit; sed domino quam multa Callistus!

10 Vis tu cogitare istum, quem servum tuum vocas, ex isdem seminibus ortum eodem frui caelo, aeque spirare, aeque vivere, aeque mori! tam tu[3] illum videre ingenuum potes quam ille te servum. Mariana clade multos splendidissime natos, senatorium per militiam auspicantes gradum, fortuna depressit, alium ex illis pastorem, alium custodem casae fecit; contemne nunc eius fortunae hominem, in quam transire, dum contemnis, potes.

11 Nolo in ingentem me locum inmittere et de usu servorum disputare, in quos superbissimi, crudelissimi, contumeliosissimi sumus. Haec tamen praecepti mei summa est: sic cum inferiore vivas, quemadmodum tecum superiorem velis vivere. Quotiens in mentem venerit, quantum tibi in servum[4] liceat, veniat in mentem tantundem in te domino tuo licere.

12 "At ego," inquis, "nullum habeo dominum." Bona

[1] *habet* Haase; *habent* MSS.
[2] *reicula* Muretus; *ridicula* MSS.
[3] *tam tu* the inferior MSS. and Macrobius; *quam tu* pb; *tam quam tu* Lg.
[4] Gertz adds *tuum*.

[a] The master of Callistus, before he became the favourite of Caligula, is unknown.

[b] There is some doubt whether we should not read *Variana*, as Lipsius suggests. This method of qualifying for senator suits the Empire better than the Republic. *Variana* would refer to the defeat of Varus in Germany, A.D. 9.

But how many masters is he creating in these very men! I have seen standing in the line, before the door of Callistus, the former master[a] of Callistus; I have seen the master himself shut out while others were welcomed,—the master who once fastened the "For Sale" ticket on Callistus and put him in the market along with the good-for-nothing slaves. But he has been paid off by that slave who was shuffled into the first lot of those on whom the crier practises his lungs; the slave, too, in his turn has cut *his* name from the list and in his turn has adjudged him unfit to enter his house. The master sold Callistus, but how much has Callistus made his master pay for!

Kindly remember that he whom you call your slave sprang from the same stock, is smiled upon by the same skies, and on equal terms with yourself breathes, lives, and dies. It is just as possible for you to see in him a free-born man as for him to see in you a slave. As a result of the massacres in Marius's[b] day, many a man of distinguished birth, who was taking the first steps toward senatorial rank by service in the army, was humbled by fortune, one becoming a shepherd, another a caretaker of a country cottage. Despise, then, if you dare, those to whose estate you may at any time descend, even when you are despising them.

I do not wish to involve myself in too large a question, and to discuss the treatment of slaves, towards whom we Romans are excessively haughty, cruel, and insulting. But this is the kernel of my advice: Treat your inferiors as you would be treated by your betters. And as often as you reflect how much power you have over a slave, remember that your master has just as much power over you. "But I have no master," you say. You are still

aetas est; forsitan habebis. Nescis, qua aetate Hecuba servire coeperit, qua Croesus, qua Darei mater, qua Platon, qua Diogenes?

13 Vive cum servo clementer, comiter quoque, et in sermonem illum admitte et in consilium et in convictum. Hoc loco adclamabit mihi tota manus delicatorum: "Nihil hac re humilius, nihil turpius." Hos ego eosdem deprehendam alienorum servorum
14 osculantes manum. Ne illud quidem videtis, quam omnem invidiam maiores nostri dominis, omnem contumeliam servis detraxerint? Dominum patrem familiae appellaverunt, servos, quod etiam in mimis adhuc durat, familiares. Instituerunt diem festum, non quo solo cum servis domini vescerentur, sed quo utique; honores illis in domo gerere, ius dicere permiserunt et domum pusillam rem publicam esse iudicaverunt.

15 "Quid ergo? Omnes servos admovebo mensae meae?" Non magis quam omnes liberos. Erras, si existimas me quosdam quasi sordidioris operae reiecturum, ut puta illum mulionem et illum bubulcum; non ministeriis illos aestimabo, sed moribus. Sibi quisque dat mores, ministeria casus adsignat. Quidam cenent tecum, quia digni sunt, quidam, ut sint. Si quid enim in illis ex sordida conversatione

[a] Plato was about forty years old when he visited Sicily, whence he was afterwards deported by Dionysius the Elder. He was sold into slavery at Aegina and ransomed by a man from Cyrene. Diogenes, while travelling from Athens to Aegina, is said to have been captured by pirates and sold in Crete, where he was purchased by a certain Corinthian and given his freedom.

[b] *i.e.*, as the praetor himself was normally accustomed to do.

young; perhaps you will have one. Do you not know at what age Hecuba entered captivity, or Croesus, or the mother of Darius, or Plato, or Diogenes?[a]

Associate with your slave on kindly, even on affable, terms; let him talk with you, plan with you, live with you. I know that at this point all the exquisites will cry out against me in a body; they will say: "There is nothing more debasing, more disgraceful, than this." But these are the very persons whom I sometimes surprise kissing the hands of other men's slaves. Do you not see even this,—how our ancestors removed from masters everything invidious, and from slaves everything insulting? They called the master "father of the household," and the slaves "members of the household," a custom which still holds in the mime. They established a holiday on which masters and slaves should eat together,—not as the only day for this custom, but as obligatory on that day in any case. They allowed the slaves to attain honours in the household and to pronounce judgment[b]; they held that a household was a miniature commonwealth.

"Do you mean to say," comes the retort, "that I must seat all my slaves at my own table?" No, not any more than that you should invite all free men to it. You are mistaken if you think that I would bar from my table certain slaves whose duties are more humble, as, for example, yonder muleteer or yonder herdsman; I propose to value them according to their character, and not according to their duties. Each man acquires his character for himself, but accident assigns his duties. Invite some to your table because they deserve the honour, and others that they may come to deserve it. For if there is

16 servile est, honestiorum convictus excutiet. Non est, mi Lucili, quod amicum tantum in foro et in curia quaeras; si diligenter adtenderis, et domi invenies. Saepe bona materia cessat sine artifice; tempta, et experiere.[1] Quemadmodum stultus est, qui equum empturus non ipsum inspicit, sed stratum eius ac frenos, sic stultissimus est, qui hominem aut ex veste aut ex condicione, quae vestis modo nobis circumdata est, aestimat.

17 "Servus est." Sed fortasse liber animo. "Servus est." Hoc illi nocebit? Ostende, quis non sit; alius libidini servit, alius avaritiae, alius ambitioni, omnes[2] timori. Dabo consularem aniculae servientem, dabo ancillulae divitem, ostendam nobilissimos iuvenes mancipia pantomimorum! Nulla servitus turpior est quam voluntaria.

Quare non est quod fastidiosi isti[3] te deterreant, quo minus servis tuis hilarem te praestes et non superbe superiorem; colant potius te quam timeant.
18 Dicet aliquis nunc me vocare ad pilleum servos et dominos de fastigio suo deicere, quod dixi: colant potius dominum quam timeant. "Ita inquit prorsus: colant tamquam clientes, tamquam salutatores?" Hoc qui dixerit, obliviscetur id dominis parum non

[1] *experiere* Pontanus; *experire* MSS.
[2] *omnes spei* Macrobius, followed by some editors.
[3] *isti* Schweighäuser; *ipsi* MSS.

any slavish quality in them as the result of their low associations, it will be shaken off by intercourse with men of gentler breeding. You need not, my dear Lucilius, hunt for friends only in the forum or in the Senate-house; if you are careful and attentive, you will find them at home also. Good material often stands idle for want of an artist; make the experiment, and you will find it so. As he is a fool who, when purchasing a horse, does not consider the animal's points, but merely his saddle and bridle; so he is doubly a fool who values a man from his clothes or from his rank, which indeed is only a robe that clothes us.

"He is a slave." His soul, however, may be that of a freeman. "He is a slave." But shall that stand in his way? Show me a man who is not a slave; one is a slave to lust, another to greed, another to ambition, and all men are slaves to fear. I will name you an ex-consul who is slave to an old hag, a millionaire who is slave to a serving-maid; I will show you youths of the noblest birth in serfdom to pantomime players! No servitude is more disgraceful than that which is self-imposed.

You should therefore not be deterred by these finicky persons from showing yourself to your slaves as an affable person and not proudly superior to them; they ought to respect you rather than fear you. Some may maintain that I am now offering the liberty-cap to slaves in general and toppling down lords from their high estate, because I bid slaves respect their masters instead of fearing them. They say: "This is what he plainly means: slaves are to pay respect as if they were clients or early-morning callers!" Anyone who holds this opinion forgets that what is enough for a god cannot be too little

esse, quod deo sat est. Qui colitur, et amatur; non
19 potest amor cum timore misceri. Rectissime ergo
facere te iudico, quod timeri a servis tuis non vis,
quod verborum castigatione uteris; verberibus muta[1]
admonentur.

Non quicquid nos offendit, et laedit. Sed ad
rabiem nos[2] cogunt pervenire deliciae, ut quicquid
20 non ex voluntate respondit, iram evocet. Regum
nobis induimus animos. Nam illi quoque obliti et
suarum virium et inbecillitatis alienae sic excande-
scunt, sic saeviunt, quasi iniuriam acceperint, a cuius
rei periculo illos fortunae suae magnitudo tutissimos
praestat. Nec hoc ignorant, sed occasionem nocendi
captant querendo; acceperunt iniuriam ut facerent.

21 Diutius te morari nolo; non est enim tibi ex-
hortatione opus. Hoc habent inter cetera boni
mores: placent sibi, permanent. Levis est malitia,
saepe mutatur, non in melius, sed in aliud. Vale.

XLVIII.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Ad epistulam, quam mihi ex itinere misisti, tam
longam quam ipsum iter fuit, postea rescribam. Se-
ducere me debeo et quid suadeam circumspicere.
Nam tu quoque, qui consulis, diu an consuleres
cogitasti; quanto magis hoc mihi faciendum est,

[1] *muta* Pincianus; *multa* and *admoventur* or *admonentur* MSS.

[2] *cogunt* pL; some later MSS. and Macrobius add *nos*.

for a master. Respect means love, and love and fear cannot be mingled. So I hold that you are entirely right in not wishing to be feared by your slaves, and in lashing them merely with the tongue; only dumb animals need the thong.

That which annoys us does not necessarily injure us; but we are driven into wild rage by our luxurious lives, so that whatever does not answer our whims arouses our anger. We don the temper of kings. For they, too, forgetful alike of their own strength and of other men's weakness, grow white-hot with rage, as if they had received an injury, when they are entirely protected from danger of such injury by their exalted station. They are not unaware that this is true, but by finding fault they seize upon opportunities to do harm; they insist that they have received injuries, in order that they may inflict them.

I do not wish to delay you longer; for you need no exhortation. This, among other things, is a mark of good character: it forms its own judgments and abides by them; but badness is fickle and frequently changing, not for the better, but for something different. Farewell.

XLVIII. ON QUIBBLING AS UNWORTHY OF THE PHILOSOPHER

In answer to the letter which you wrote me while travelling,—a letter as long as the journey itself,—I shall reply later. I ought to go into retirement, and consider what sort of advice I should give you. For you yourself, who consult me, also reflected for a long time whether to do so; how much more, then, should I myself reflect, since more

cum longiore mora opus sit, ut solvas quaestionem quam ut proponas? Utique cum aliud tibi expediat, aliud mihi. Iterum ego tamquam Epicureus loquor?
2 Mihi vero idem expedit, quod tibi; aut non sum amicus, nisi quicquid agitur ad te pertinens, meum est. Consortium rerum omnium inter nos facit amicitia. Nec secundi quicquam singulis est nec adversi; in commune vivitur. Nec potest quisquam beate degere, qui se tantum intuetur, qui omnia ad utilitates suas convertit; alteri vivas oportet, si
3 vis tibi vivere. Haec societas diligenter et sancte observata, quae nos homines hominibus[1] miscet et iudicat aliquod esse commune ius generis humani, plurimum ad illam quoque, de qua loquebar, interiorem societatem amicitiae colendam proficit. Omnia enim cum amico communia habebit, qui multa cum homine.

4 Hoc, Lucili virorum optime, mihi ab istis subtilibus praecipi malo, quid amico praestare debeam, quid homini, quam quot modis amicus dicatur, et homo quam multa significet. In diversum ecce sapientia et stultitia discedunt; cui accedo? In utram ire partem iubes? Illi homo pro amico est, huic amicus non est pro homine. Ille amicum sibi parat, hic se

[1] *homines hominibus* later MSS.; *omnes hominibus* pLPb; *omnes omnibus* Muretus.

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[a] The Epicureans, who reduced all goods to "utilities," could not regard a friend's advantage as identical with one's own advantage. And yet they laid great stress upon friendship as one of the chief sources of pleasure. For an attempt to reconcile these two positions see Cicero, *De Finibus*, i. 65 ff. Seneca has inadvertently used a phrase that implies a difference between a friend's interests and one's own. This leads him to reassert the Stoic view of friendship, which adopted as its motto κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων.

deliberation is necessary in settling than in propounding a problem! And this is particularly true when one thing is advantageous to you and another to me. Am I speaking again in the guise of an Epicurean[a]? But the fact is, the same thing is advantageous to me which is advantageous to you; for I am not your friend unless whatever is at issue concerning you is my concern also. Friendship produces between us a partnership in all our interests. There is no such thing as good or bad fortune for the individual; we live in common. And no one can live happily who has regard to himself alone and transforms everything into a question of his own utility; you must live for your neighbour, if you would live for yourself. This fellowship, maintained with scrupulous care, which makes us mingle as men with our fellow-men and holds that the human race have certain rights in common, is also of great help in cherishing the more intimate fellowship which is based on friendship, concerning which I began to speak above. For he that has much in common with a fellow-man will have all things in common with a friend.

And on this point, my excellent Lucilius, I should like to have those subtle dialecticians of yours advise me how I ought to help a friend, or how a fellow-man, rather than tell me in how many ways the word "friend" is used, and how many meanings the word "man" possesses. Lo, Wisdom and Folly are taking opposite sides. Which shall I join? Which party would you have me follow? On that side, "man" is the equivalent of "friend"; on the other side, "friend" is not the equivalent of "man." The one wants a friend for his own advantage; the other wants to make himself an advantage to his

amico. Tu mihi verba distorques et syllabas digeris.
5 Scilicet nisi interrogationes vaferrimas struxero et conclusione falsa a vero nascens mendacium adstrinxero, non potero a fugiendis petenda secernere. Pudet me; in re tam seria senes ludimus.[1]

6 "Mus syllaba est. Mus autem caseum rodit; syllaba ergo caseum rodit." Puta nunc me istuc non posse solvere. Quod mihi ex ista inscientia[2] periculum inminet? Quod incommodum? Sine dubio verendum est, ne quando in muscipulo syllabas capiam aut ne quando, si neglegentior fuero, caseum liber comedat. Nisi forte illa acutior est collectio: "Mus syllaba est. Syllaba autem caseum non rodit;
7 mus ergo caseum non rodit." O pueriles ineptias! In hoc supercilia subduximus? In hoc barbam demisimus? Hoc est, quod tristes docemus et pallidi?

Vis scire, quid philosophia promittat generi humano? Consilium. Alium mors vocat, alium paupertas urit, alium divitiae vel alienae torquent vel suae. Ille malam fortunam horret, hic se felicitati suae subducere cupit. Hunc homines male habent,
8 illum di. Quid mihi lusoria ista conponis? Non est iocandi locus; ad miseros advocatus es. Opem laturum te naufragis, captis, aegris, egentibus, in-

[1] After *ludimus* most MSS. give *Vale. Seneca Lucilio suo Salutem*; Hense brackets.
[2] *inscientia* P[2] and Lipsius; *scientia* pLP[1]b.

[a] The sides are given in reverse order in the two clauses: to the Stoic the terms "friend" and "man" are co-extensive; he is the friend of everybody, and his motive in friendship is to be of service; the Epicurean, however, narrows the definition of "friend" and regards him merely as an instrument to his own happiness.

[b] In this paragraph Seneca exposes the folly of trying to prove a truth by means of logical tricks, and offers a caricature of those which were current among the philosophers whom he derides.

friend.[a] What *you* have to offer me is nothing but distortion of words and splitting of syllables. It is clear that unless I can devise some very tricky premisses and by false deductions tack on to them a fallacy which springs from the truth, I shall not be able to distinguish between what is desirable and what is to be avoided! I am ashamed! Old men as we are, dealing with a problem so serious, we make play of it!

"'Mouse' is a syllable.[b] Now a mouse eats cheese; therefore, a syllable eats cheese." Suppose now that I cannot solve this problem; see what peril hangs over my head as a result of such ignorance! What a scrape I shall be in! Without doubt I must beware, or some day I shall be catching syllables in a mousetrap, or, if I grow careless, a book may devour my cheese! Unless, perhaps, the following syllogism is shrewder still: "'Mouse' is a syllable. Now a syllable does not eat cheese. Therefore a mouse does not eat cheese." What childish nonsense! Do we knit our brows over this sort of problem? Do we let our beards grow long for this reason? Is this the matter which we teach with sour and pale faces?

Would you really know what philosophy offers to humanity? Philosophy offers counsel. Death calls away one man, and poverty chafes another; a third is worried either by his neighbour's wealth or by his own. So-and-so is afraid of bad luck; another desires to get away from his own good fortune. Some are ill-treated by men, others by the gods. Why, then, do you frame for me such games as these? It is no occasion for jest; you are retained as counsel for unhappy mankind. You have promised to help those in peril by sea, those in captivity, the

tentae securi subiectum praestantibus caput pollicitus es. Quo diverteris? Quid agis?

Hic, cum quo ludis, timet; succurre, †quidquid laque ti res pendentium penis.[1]† Omnes undique ad te manus tendunt, perditae vitae perituraeque auxilium aliquod inplorant, in te spes opesque sunt. Rogant, ut ex tanta illos volutatione extrahas, ut disiectis et errantibus clarum veritatis lumen ostendas.
9 Dic, quid natura necessarium fecerit, quid supervacuum, quam faciles leges[2] posuerit, quam iucunda sit vita, quam expedita illas sequentibus, quam acerba et inplicita eorum, qui opinioni plus quam naturae crediderunt.

Ad horum mala levanda valere lusoria ista crediderim,[3] si prius docueris, quam partem eorum levatura sint. Quid istorum cupiditates demit? Quid temperat? Utinam tantum non prodessent! Nocent. Hoc tibi, cum voles, manifestissimum faciam, comminui et debilitari generosam indolem in istas argutias
10 coniectam. Pudet dicere, contra fortunam militaturis quae porrigant tela, quemadmodum illos subornent. Hac ad summum bonum itur? Per istud philosophia[4] "sive nive" et turpes infamesque etiam ad album

[1] The passage is corrupt, but the general sense is given in the translation. Buecheler suggests *succurre, quidquid laqueist timore pendenti rumpens.*
[2] *faciles leges* later MSS.; *faciles* LP¹b; *felices* p.
[3] *ad horum . . . . crediderim* added by Hense as supplying the required connexion.
[4] *philosophia* Page; *philosophiae* MSS.

[a] Literally, "or if or if not," words constantly employed by the logicians and in legal instruments. For the latter *cf.* Cicero, *Pro Caecina*, 23. 65 *tum illud, quod dicitur, "sive nive" irrident, tum aucupia verborum et litterarum tendiculas in invidiam vocant.*

sick and the needy, and those whose heads are under the poised axe. Whither are you straying? What are you doing?

This friend, in whose company you are jesting, is in fear. Help him, and take the noose from about his neck. Men are stretching out imploring hands to you on all sides; lives ruined and in danger of ruin are begging for some assistance; men's hopes, men's resources, depend upon you. They ask that you deliver them from all their restlessness, that you reveal to them, scattered and wandering as they are, the clear light of truth. Tell them what nature has made necessary, and what superfluous; tell them how simple are the laws that she has laid down, how pleasant and unimpeded life is for those who follow these laws, but how bitter and perplexed it is for those who have put their trust in opinion rather than in nature.

I should deem your games of logic to be of some avail in relieving men's burdens, if you could first show me what part of these burdens they will relieve. What among these games of yours banishes lust? Or controls it? Would that I could say that they were merely of no profit! They are positively harmful. I can make it perfectly clear to you whenever you wish, that a noble spirit when involved in such subtleties is impaired and weakened. I am ashamed to say what weapons they supply to men who are destined to go to war with fortune, and how poorly they equip them! Is this the path to the greatest good? Is philosophy to proceed by such claptrap[a] and by quibbles which would be a disgrace and a

sedentibus exceptiones? Quid enim aliud agitis, cum eum, quem interrogatis, scientes in fraudem inducitis, quam ut formula cecidisse videatur? Sed quemadmodum illos praetor, sic hos philosophia in
11 integrum restituit. Quid disceditis ab ingentibus promissis et grandia locuti, effecturos vos, ut non magis auri fulgor quam gladii praestringat oculos meos, ut ingenti constantia et quod omnes optant et quod omnes timent calcem, ad grammaticorum elementa descenditis? Quid dicitis?

Sic itur ad astra?

Hoc enim est, quod mihi philosophia promittit, ut parem deo faciat. Ad hoc invitatus sum, ad hoc veni; fidem praesta.

12 Quantum potes ergo, mi Lucili, reduc te ab istis exceptionibus et praescriptionibus philosophorum. Aperta decent et simplicia bonitatem. Etiam si multum superesset aetatis, parce dispensandum erat, ut sufficeret necessariis; nunc quae dementia est supervacua discere in tanta temporis egestate? VALE.

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[a] Literally, "to those who sit studying the praetor's edicts." The *album* is the bulletin-board, on which the edicts of the praetor were posted, giving the formulae and stipulations for legal processes of various kinds.

[b] In certain actions the praetor appointed a judge and established a formula, indicating the plaintiff's claim and the judge's duty. If the statement was false, or the claim excessive, the plaintiff lost his case; under certain conditions (see last sentence of Seneca § 11) the defendant could claim annulment of the formula and have the case tried again. Such cases were not lost on their merits, and for that reason the lawyer who purposely took such an advantage was doing a contemptible thing.

[c] Vergil, *Aeneid*, ix. 641.

reproach even for expounders[a] of the law? For what else is it that you men are doing, when you deliberately ensnare the person to whom you are putting questions, than making it appear that the man has lost his case on a technical error?[b] But just as the judge can reinstate those who have lost a suit in this way, so philosophy has reinstated these victims of quibbling to their former condition. Why do you men abandon your mighty promises, and, after having assured me in high-sounding language that you will permit the glitter of gold to dazzle my eyesight no more than the gleam of the sword, and that I shall, with mighty steadfastness, spurn both that which all men crave and that which all men fear, why do you descend to the ABC's of scholastic pedants? What is your answer?

Is this the path to heaven?[c]

For that is exactly what philosophy promises to me, that I shall be made equal to God. For this I have been summoned, for this purpose have I come. Philosophy, keep your promise!

Therefore, my dear Lucilius, withdraw yourself as far as possible from these exceptions and objections of so-called philosophers. Frankness and simplicity beseem true goodness. Even if there were many years left to you, you would have had to spend them frugally in order to have enough for the necessary things; but as it is, when your time is so scant, what madness it is to learn superfluous things! Farewell.

XLIX.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Est quidem, mi Lucili, supinus et neglegens, qui in amici memoriam ab aliqua regione admonitus reducitur; tamen repositum in animo nostro desiderium loca interdum familiaria evocant nec extinctam memoriam reddunt, sed quiescentem inritant, sicut dolorem lugentium, etiam si mitigatus est tempore, aut servulus familiaris amisso[1] aut vestis aut domus renovat.

Ecce Campania et maxime Neapolis ac[2] Pompeiorum tuorum conspectus[3] incredibile est quam recens desiderium tui fecerint; totus mihi in oculis es. Cum maxime a te discedo. Video lacrimas conbibentem et adfectibus tuis inter ipsam coercitionem exeuntibus non satis resistentem. Modo amisisse te
2 videor. Quid enim non "modo" est, si recorderis? Modo apud Sotionem philosophum puer sedi, modo causas agere coepi, modo desii velle agere, modo desii posse. Infinita est velocitas temporis, quae magis apparet respicientibus. Nam ad praesentia intentos fallit; adeo praecipitis fugae transitus lenis
3 est. Causam huius rei quaeris? Quicquid temporis transît, eodem loco est; pariter aspicitur, una iacet. Omnia in idem[4] profundum cadunt. Et alioqui non

[1] *servulus familiaris amisso* Gertz; *servuli fam. amissi* (*amisso*) MSS.
[2] *ac* Volkmann; *a* and *ad* MSS.
[3] *conspectus* Volkmann; *conspectum* MSS.
[4] *in idem* Rossbach; *inde* pLb; *in* P.

[a] Probably the birthplace of Lucilius.
[b] The Pythagorean. For his views on vegetarianism, and their influence on Seneca, see *Ep.* cviii. 17 ff.

XLIX. ON THE SHORTNESS OF LIFE

A man is indeed lazy and careless, my dear Lucilius, if he is reminded of a friend only by seeing some landscape which stirs the memory; and yet there are times when the old familiar haunts stir up a sense of loss that has been stored away in the soul, not bringing back dead memories, but rousing them from their dormant state, just as the sight of a lost friend's favourite slave, or his cloak, or his house, renews the mourner's grief, even though it has been softened by time.

Now, lo and behold, Campania, and especially Naples and your beloved Pompeii,[a] struck me, when I viewed them, with a wonderfully fresh sense of longing for you. You stand in full view before my eyes. I am on the point of parting from you. I see you choking down your tears and resisting without success the emotions that well up at the very moment when you try to check them. I seem to have lost you but a moment ago. For what is not "but a moment ago" when one begins to use the memory? It was but a moment ago that I sat, as a lad, in the school of the philosopher Sotion,[b] but a moment ago that I began to plead in the courts, but a moment ago that I lost the desire to plead, but a moment ago that I lost the ability. Infinitely swift is the flight of time, as those see more clearly who are looking backwards. For when we are intent on the present, we do not notice it, so gentle is the passage of time's headlong flight. Do you ask the reason for this? All past time is in the same place; it all presents the same aspect to us, it lies together. Everything slips into the same abyss.

possunt longa intervalla esse in ea re, quae tota brevis est. Punctum est quod vivimus et adhuc puncto minus. Sed et hoc minimum specie quadam longioris spatii natura derisit; aliud ex hoc infantiam fecit, aliud pueritiam, aliud adulescentiam, aliud inclinationem quandam ab adulescentia ad senectutem, aliud ipsam senectutem. In quam angusto quodam
4 quot gradus posuit! Modo te prosecutus sum; et tamen hoc "modo" aetatis nostrae bona portio est, cuius brevitatem aliquando defecturam[1] cogitemus. Non solebat mihi tam velox tempus videri; nunc incredibilis cursus apparet, sive quia admoveri lineas sentio, sive quia adtendere coepi et conputare damnum meum.

5 Eo magis itaque indignor aliquos ex hoc tempore, quod sufficere ne ad necessaria quidem potest, etiam si custoditum diligentissime fuerit, in supervacua maiorem partem erogare. Negat Cicero, si duplicetur sibi aetas, habiturum se tempus, quo legat lyricos; eodem loco pone[2] dialecticos; tristius inepti sunt. Illi ex professo lasciviunt, hi agere ipsos aliquid
6 existimant. Nec ego nego prospicienda ista, sed prospicienda tantum et a limine salutanda in hoc unum, ne verba nobis dentur et aliquid esse in illis magni ac secreti boni iudicemus.

[1] *defecturam* Müller; *futuram* MSS.
[2] *pone* inserted by Haase; *pono* or *habeo* was proposed by Schweighäuser; *conloco* by Hermes, followed by Hense.

[a] Source unknown; perhaps, as Hense thinks, from the *Hortensius*.
[b] An intentional equivocation on the part of Cicero, who intimates that he will "lose no time" in reading them.

Besides, an event which in its entirety is of brief compass cannot contain long intervals. The time which we spend in living is but a point, nay, even less than a point. But this point of time, infinitesimal as it is, nature has mocked by making it seem outwardly of longer duration; she has taken one portion thereof and made it infancy, another childhood, another youth, another the gradual slope, so to speak, from youth to old age, and old age itself is still another. How many steps for how short a climb! It was but a moment ago that I saw you off on your journey; and yet this "moment ago" makes up a goodly share of our existence, which is so brief, we should reflect, that it will soon come to an end altogether. In other years time did not seem to me to go so swiftly; now, it seems fast beyond belief, perhaps because I feel that the finish-line is moving closer to me, or it may be that I have begun to take heed and reckon up my losses.

For this reason I am all the more angry that some men claim the major portion of this time for superfluous things,—time which, no matter how carefully it is guarded, cannot suffice even for necessary things. Cicero[a] declared that if the number of his days were doubled, he should not have time to read the lyric poets.[b] And you may rate the dialecticians in the same class; but they are foolish in a more melancholy way. The lyric poets are avowedly frivolous; but the dialecticians believe that they are themselves engaged upon serious business. I do not deny that one must cast a glance at dialectic; but it ought to be a mere glance, a sort of greeting from the threshold, merely that one may not be deceived, or judge these pursuits to contain any hidden matters of great worth.

Quid te torques et maceras in ea quaestione, quam subtilius est contempsisse quam solvere? Securi est et ex commodo migrantis minuta conquirere; cum hostis instat a tergo et movere se iussus est miles, necessitas excutit quicquid pax otiosa collegerat.
7 Non vacat mihi verba dubie cadentia consectari et vafritiam in illis meam experiri.

> Adspice qui coeant populi, quae moenia clusis
> Ferrum acuant portis.

Magno mihi animo strepitus iste belli circumsonantis
8 exaudiendus est. Demens omnibus merito viderer, si cum saxa in munimentum murorum senes feminaeque congererent, cum iuventus intra portas armata signum eruptionis expectaret aut posceret, cum hostilia in portis tela vibrarent et ipsum solum suffossionibus et cuniculis tremeret, sederem otiosus et eiusmodi quaestiunculas ponens: "Quod non perdidisti, habes. Cornua autem non perdidisti; cornua ergo habes" aliaque ad exemplum huius acutae delirationis con-
9 cinnata. Atqui aeque licet tibi demens videar, si istis inpendero operam; et nunc[1] obsideor. Tunc tamen periculum mihi obsesso externum inmineret, murus me ab hoste secerneret; nunc mortifera mecum sunt. Non vaco ad istas ineptias; ingens negotium

[1] *nunc* added by Gertz.

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[a] Vergil, *Aeneid*, viii. 385 f.

[b] A sample of syllogistic nonsense, quoted also by Gellius, xviii. 2. 9. See also *Ep.* xlv. 8.

Why do you torment yourself and lose weight over some problem which it is more clever to have scorned than to solve? When a soldier is undisturbed and travelling at his ease, he can hunt for trifles along his way; but when the enemy is closing in on the rear, and a command is given to quicken the pace, necessity makes him throw away everything which he picked up in moments of peace and leisure. I have no time to investigate disputed inflections of words, or to try my cunning upon them.

> Behold the gathering clans, the fast-shut gates,
> And weapons whetted ready for the war.[a]

I need a stout heart to hear without flinching this din of battle which sounds round about. And all would rightly think me mad if, when greybeards and women were heaping up rocks for the fortifications, when the armour-clad youths inside the gates were awaiting, or even demanding, the order for a sally, when the spears of the foemen were quivering in our gates and the very ground was rocking with mines and subterranean passages,—I say, they would rightly think me mad if I were to sit idle, putting such petty posers as this: "What you have not lost, you have. But you have not lost any horns. Therefore, you have horns,"[b] or other tricks constructed after the model of this piece of sheer silliness. And yet I may well seem in your eyes no less mad, if I spend my energies on that sort of thing; for even now I am in a state of siege. And yet, in the former case it would be merely a peril from the outside that threatened me, and a wall that sundered me from the foe; as it is now, death-dealing perils are in my very presence. I have no time for such nonsense; a

in manibus est. Quid agam? Mors me sequitur,
10 fugit vita; adversus haec me doce aliquid. Effice,
ut ego mortem non fugiam, vita me non effugiat.
Exhortare adversus difficilia, adde aequanimitatem[1]
adversus inevitabilia. Angustias temporis mei laxa.
Doce non esse positum bonum vitae in spatio eius,
sed in usu, posse fieri, immo saepissime fieri, ut
qui diu vixit, parum vixerit. Dic mihi dormituro:
"Potes non expergisci"; dic experrecto: "Potes
non dormire amplius." Dic exeunti: "Potes non
11 reverti"; dic redeunti: "Potes non exire." Erras,
si in navigatione tantum existimas minimum esse,
quo a[2] morte vita diducitur; in omni loco aeque
tenue intervallum est. Non ubique se mors tam
prope ostendit; ubique tam prope est.

Has tenebras discute; et facilius ea trades, ad
quae praeparatus sum. Dociles natura nos edidit et
12 rationem dedit inperfectam, sed quae perfici posset.
De iustitia mihi, de pietate disputa, de frugalitate, de
pudicitia utraque, et illa, cui alieni corporis abstinen-
tia est, et hac, cui sui cura. Si me nolueris per
devia ducere, facilius ad id, quo tendo, perveniam.
Nam ut ait ille tragicus,

[1] *adde aequanimitatem* Linde; *de aequanimitate* pLPb.
[2] *a* added by Muretus.

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[a] *i.e.*, the timbers of the ship. Compare the same figure in *Ep.* xxx. 2.

[b] Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 469 ἁπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφυ.

mighty undertaking is on my hands. What am I to do? Death is on my trail, and life is fleeting away; teach me something with which to face these troubles. Bring it to pass that I shall cease trying to escape from death, and that life may cease to escape from me. Give me courage to meet hardships; make me calm in the face of the unavoidable. Relax the straitened limits of the time which is allotted me. Show me that the good in life does not depend upon life's length, but upon the use we make of it; also, that it is possible, or rather usual, for a man who has lived long to have lived too little. Say to me when I lie down to sleep: "You may not wake again!" And when I have waked: "You may not go to sleep again!" Say to me when I go forth from my house: "You may not return!" And when I return: "You may never go forth again!" You are mistaken if you think that only on an ocean voyage there is a very slight space [a] between life and death. No, the distance between is just as narrow everywhere. It is not everywhere that death shows himself so near at hand; yet everywhere he is as near at hand.

Rid me of these shadowy terrors; then you will more easily deliver to me the instruction for which I have prepared myself. At our birth nature made us teachable, and gave us reason, not perfect, but capable of being perfected. Discuss for me justice, duty, thrift, and that twofold purity, both the purity which abstains from another's person, and that which takes care of one's own self. If you will only refuse to lead me along by-paths, I shall more easily reach the goal at which I am aiming. For, as the tragic poet [b] says:

Veritatis simplex oratio est.

Ideoque illam inplicari non oportet; nec enim quicquam minus convenit quam subdola ista calliditas animis magna conantibus. VALE.

L.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Epistulam tuam accepi post multos menses quam miseras. Supervacuum itaque putavi ab eo, qui adferebat, quid ageres quaerere. Valde enim bonae memoriae est, si meminit! Et tamen spero te sic iam vivere, ut ubicumque eris, sciam quid agas. Quid enim aliud agis quam ut meliorem te ipse cottidie facias, ut aliquid ex erroribus ponas, ut intellegas tua vitia esse, quae putas rerum? Quaedam enim locis et temporibus adscribimus. At illa, quocumque transierimus, secutura sunt.

2 Harpasten, uxoris meae fatuam, scis hereditarium onus in domo mea remansisse. Ipse enim aversissimus[1] ab istis prodigiis sum; si quando fatuo delectari volo, non est mihi longe quaerendus; me rideo. Haec fatua subito desiit videre. Incredibilem rem tibi narro, sed veram: nescit esse se caecam. Subinde paedagogum suum rogat ut migret. Ait domum tenebricosam esse.

3 Hoc quod in illa ridemus, omnibus nobis accidere liqueat tibi; nemo se avarum esse intellegit, nemo cupidum. Caeci tamen ducem quaerunt, nos sine

[1] *aversissimus* Agricola; *avarissimus* MSS.

The language of truth is simple.

We should not, therefore, make that language intricate; since there is nothing less fitting for a soul of great endeavour than such crafty cleverness. Farewell.

L. ON OUR BLINDNESS AND ITS CURE

I received your letter many months after you had posted it; accordingly, I thought it useless to ask the carrier what you were busied with. He must have a particularly good memory if he can remember that! But I hope by this time you are living in such a way that I can be sure what it is you are busied with, no matter where you may be. For what else are you busied with except improving yourself every day, laying aside some error, and coming to understand that the faults which you attribute to circumstances are in yourself? We are indeed apt to ascribe certain faults to the place or to the time; but those faults will follow us, no matter how we change our place.

You know Harpasté, my wife's female clown; she has remained in my house, a burden incurred from a legacy. I particularly disapprove of these freaks; whenever I wish to enjoy the quips of a clown, I am not compelled to hunt far; I can laugh at myself. Now this clown suddenly became blind. The story sounds incredible, but I assure you that it is true: she does not know that she is blind. She keeps asking her attendant to change her quarters; she says that her apartments are too dark.

You can see clearly that that which makes us smile in the case of Harpasté happens to all the rest of us; nobody understands that he is himself greedy, or that he is covetous. Yet the blind ask for a guide,

duce erramus et dicimus: "Non ego ambitiosus sum, sed nemo aliter Romae potest vivere. Non ego sumptuosus sum, sed urbs ipsa magnas inpensas exigit. Non est meum vitium, quod iracundus sum, quod nondum constitui certum genus vitae; adulescentia haec
4 facit." Quid nos decipimus? Non est extrinsecus malum nostrum; intra nos est, in visceribus ipsis sedet, et ideo difficulter ad sanitatem pervenimus, quia nos aegrotare nescimus.

Si curari coeperimus, quando tot morborum tantas vires[1] discutiemus? Nunc vero ne[2] quaerimus quidem medicum, qui minus negotii haberet, si adhiberetur ad recens vitium. Sequerentur teneri et rudes animi
5 recta monstrantem. Nemo difficulter ad naturam reducitur, nisi qui ab illa defecit. Erubescimus discere bonam mentem; at mehercules, si turpe est magistrum huius rei quaerere, illud desperandum est, posse nobis casu tantum bonum influere.

Laborandum est, et ut verum dicam, ne labor quidem magnus est, si modo, ut dixi, ante animum nostrum formare incipimus et recorrigere, quam indurescat pravitas eius. Sed nec indurata despero.
6 Nihil est, quod non expugnet pertinax opera et intenta ac diligens cura; robora in rectum quamvis flexa revocabis. Curvatas trabes calor explicat et aliter natae in id finguntur, quod usus noster exigit; quanto facilius animus accipit formam, flexibilis et

[1] *morborum tantas vires* Gertz; *morbos tantas ve res* MSS.
[2] *ne* Muretus; *nec* MSS.

while we wander without one, saying: "I am not self-seeking; but one cannot live at Rome in any other way. I am not extravagant, but mere living in the city demands a great outlay. It is not my fault that I have a choleric disposition, or that I have not settled down to any definite scheme of life; it is due to my youth." Why do we deceive ourselves? The evil that afflicts us is not external, it is within us, situated in our very vitals; for that reason we attain soundness with all the more difficulty, because we do not know that we are diseased.

Suppose that we have begun the cure; when shall we throw off all these diseases, with all their virulence? At present, we do not even consult the physician, whose work would be easier if he were called in when the complaint was in its early stages. The tender and the inexperienced minds would follow his advice if he pointed out the right way. No man finds it difficult to return to nature, except the man who has deserted nature. We blush to receive instruction in sound sense; but, by Heaven, if we think it base to seek a teacher of this art, we should also abandon any hope that so great a good could be instilled into us by mere chance.

No, we must work. To tell the truth, even the work is not great, if only, as I said, we begin to mould and reconstruct our souls before they are hardened by sin. But I do not despair even of a hardened sinner. There is nothing that will not surrender to persistent treatment, to concentrated and careful attention; however much the timber may be bent, you can make it straight again. Heat unbends curved beams, and wood that grew naturally in another shape is fashioned artificially according to our needs. How much more easily does the soul permit itself to be

omni umore obsequentior. Quid enim est aliud animus quam quodam modo se habens spiritus? Vides autem tanto spiritum esse faciliorem omni alia materia, quanto tenuior est.

7 Illud, mi Lucili, non est quod te inpediat, quo minus de nobis bene speres, quod malitia nos iam tenet, quod diu in possessione nostri est; ad neminem ante bona mens venit quam mala. Omnes praeoccupati sumus. Virtutes discere vitia dediscere est.
8 Eo[1] maiore animo ad emendationem nostri debemus accedere, quod semel traditi nobis boni perpetua possessio est; non dediscitur virtus. Contraria enim male[2] in alieno haerent, ideo depelli et exturbari possunt; fideliter sedent, quae in locum suum veniunt. Virtus secundum naturam est, vitia inimica et infesta
9 sunt. Sed quemadmodum virtutes receptae exire non possunt facilisque earum tutela est, ita initium ad illas eundi arduum, quia hoc proprium[3] inbecillae mentis atque aegrae est, formidare inexperta. Itaque cogenda est, ut incipiat; deinde non est acerba medicina. Protinus enim delectat, dum sanat. Aliorum remediorum post sanitatem voluptas est, philosophia pariter et salutaris et dulcis est. VALE.

[1] *dediscere est. eo* Haupt; *dediscere* (om. Pb) *sed eo* MSS.
[2] *male* P. Thomas; *mala* MSS.
[3] *proprium* Madvig; *primum* MSS.

shaped, pliable as it is and more yielding than any liquid! For what else is the soul than air in a certain state? And you see that air is more adaptable than any other matter, in proportion as it is rarer than any other.

There is nothing, Lucilius, to hinder you from entertaining good hopes about us, just because we are even now in the grip of evil, or because we have long been possessed thereby. There is no man to whom a good mind comes before an evil one. It is the evil mind that gets first hold on all of us. Learning virtue means unlearning vice. We should therefore proceed to the task of freeing ourselves from faults with all the more courage because, when once committed to us, the good is an everlasting possession; virtue is not unlearned. For opposites find difficulty in clinging where they do not belong, therefore they can be driven out and hustled away; but qualities that come to a place which is rightfully theirs abide faithfully. Virtue is according to nature; vice is opposed to it and hostile. But although virtues, when admitted, cannot depart and are easy to guard, yet the first steps in the approach to them are toilsome, because it is characteristic of a weak and diseased mind to fear that which is unfamiliar. The mind must, therefore, be forced to make a beginning; from then on, the medicine is not bitter; for just as soon as it is curing us it begins to give pleasure. One enjoys other cures only after health is restored, but a draught of philosophy is at the same moment wholesome and pleasant. Farewell.

LI.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Quomodo quisque potest, mi Lucili! Tu istic
habes Aetnam, editum illum ac[1] nobilissimum Siciliae
montem, quem quare dixerit Messala unicum, sive
Valgius, apud utrumque enim legi, non reperio, cum
plurima loca evomant ignem, non tantum edita, quod
crebrius evenit, videlicet quia ignis in altissimum
effertur, sed etiam iacentia. Nos utcumque possumus,
contenti sumus Bais, quas postero die quam adtigeram
reliqui, locum ob hoc devitandum, cum habeat quas-
dam naturales dotes, quia illum sibi celebrandum
2 luxuria desumpsit. "Quid ergo? Ulli loco indicen-
dum est odium?" Minime. Sed quemadmodum
aliqua vestis sapienti ac probo viro magis convenit
quam aliqua, nec ullum colorem ille odit, sed aliquem
parum putat aptum esse frugalitatem professo; sic
regio quoque est, quam sapiens vir aut ad sapientiam
tendens declinet tamquam alienam bonis moribus.
3 Itaque de secessu cogitans numquam Canopum eliget,
quamvis neminem Canopus esse frugi vetet, ne Baias
quidem; deversorium vitiorum esse coeperunt. Illic
sibi plurimum luxuria permittit, illic, tamquam aliqua
licentia debeatur loco, magis solvitur.

4 Non tantum corpori, sed etiam moribus salubrem

[1] *editum illum ac* Chatelain and Hense; *et illuc* MSS.

[a] Etna was of especial interest to Lucilius. Besides being a Governor in Sicily, he may have written the poem *Aetna*. For Seneca's own curiosity regarding the mountain compare *Ep*. lxxix. 5 ff.

[b] Not far from Naples, and across the bay from Puteoli. It was a fashionable and dissolute watering-place.

[c] Situated at the mouth of the westernmost branch of the Nile, and proverbial in Latin literature for the laxity of its morals.

LI. ON BAIAE AND MORALS

Every man does the best he can, my dear Lucilius! You over there have Etna,[a] that lofty and most celebrated mountain of Sicily; (although I cannot make out why Messala,—or was it Valgius? for I have been reading in both,—has called it "unique," inasmuch as many regions belch forth fire, not merely the lofty ones where the phenomenon is more frequent,—presumably because fire rises to the greatest possible height,—but low-lying places also.) As for myself, I do the best I can; I have had to be satisfied with Baiae[b]; and I left it the day after I reached it; for Baiae is a place to be avoided, because, though it has certain natural advantages, luxury has claimed it for her own exclusive resort. "What then," you say, "should any place be singled out as an object of aversion?" Not at all. But just as, to the wise and upright man, one style of clothing is more suitable than another, without his having an aversion for any particular colour, but because he thinks that some colours do not befit one who has adopted the simple life; so there are places also, which the wise man or he who is on the way toward wisdom will avoid as foreign to good morals. Therefore, if he is contemplating withdrawal from the world, he will not select Canopus[c] (although Canopus does not keep any man from living simply), nor Baiae either; for both places have begun to be resorts of vice. At Canopus luxury pampers itself to the utmost degree; at Baiae it is even more lax, as if the place itself demanded a certain amount of licence.

We ought to select abodes which are wholesome

locum eligere debemus. Quemadmodum inter tor-
tores habitare nolim, sic ne inter popinas quidem.
Videre ebrios per litora errantes et comessationes
navigantium et symphoniarum cantibus strepentes
lacus et alia, quae velut soluta legibus luxuria non
5 tantum peccat, sed publicat, quid necesse est? Id
agere debemus, ut irritamenta vitiorum quam lon-
gissime profugiamus. Indurandus est animus et a
blandimentis voluptatum procul abstrahendus. Una
Hannibalem hiberna solverunt et indomitum illum
nivibus atque Alpibus virum enervaverunt fomenta
6 Campaniae. Armis vicit, vitiis victus est. Nobis
quoque militandum est, et quidem genere militiae,
quo numquam quies, numquam otium datur. Debel-
landae sunt in primis voluptates, quae, ut vides, saeva
quoque ad se ingenia rapuerunt. Si quis sibi pro-
posuerit, quantum operis adgressus sit, sciet nihil
delicate, nihil molliter esse faciendum. Quid mihi
cum istis calentibus stagnis? Quid cum sudatoriis,
in quae siccus vapor corpora exhausurus includitur?
Omnis sudor per laborem exeat.

7 Si faceremus, quod fecit Hannibal, ut interrupto
cursu rerum omissoque bello fovendis corporibus
operam daremus, nemo non intempestivam desidiam
victori quoque, nedum vincenti, periculosam merito
reprehenderet; minus nobis quam illis Punica signa
sequentibus licet, plus periculi restat cedentibus, plus

[a] There is considerable doubt whether *symphonia* was vocal or instrumental music. The passage probably refers either to glee-singers (as in Venice to-day) or to bands of flute-players playing part-music. Cicero (*Verr.* iii. 44. 105) mentions them as providing entertainment at banquets.

not only for the body but also for the character. Just as I do not care to live in a place of torture, neither do I care to live in a café. To witness persons wandering drunk along the beach, the riotous revelling of sailing parties, the lakes a-din with choral[a] song, and all the other ways in which luxury, when it is, so to speak, released from the restraints of law not merely sins, but blazons its sins abroad,—why must I witness all this? We ought to see to it that we flee to the greatest possible distance from provocations to vice. We should toughen our minds, and remove them far from the allurements of pleasure. A single winter relaxed Hannibal's fibre; his pampering in Campania took the vigour out of that hero who had triumphed over Alpine snows. He conquered with his weapons, but was conquered by his vices. We too have a war to wage, a type of warfare in which there is allowed no rest or furlough. To be conquered, in the first place, are pleasures, which, as you see, have carried off even the sternest characters. If a man has once understood how great is the task which he has entered upon, he will see that there must be no dainty or effeminate conduct. What have I to do with those hot baths or with the sweating-room where they shut in the dry steam which is to drain your strength? Perspiration should flow only after toil.

Suppose we do what Hannibal did,—check the course of events, give up the war, and give over our bodies to be coddled. Every one would rightly blame us for our untimely sloth, a thing fraught with peril even for the victor, to say nothing of one who is only on the way to victory. And we have even less right to do this than those followers of the Carthaginian flag; for our danger is greater than

8 operis etiam perseverantibus. Fortuna mecum bellum
gerit; non sum imperata facturus. Iugum non re-
cipio, immo, quod maiore virtute faciendum est,
excutio. Non est emolliendus animus; si voluptati
cessero, cedendum est dolori, cedendum est labori,
cedendum est paupertati; idem sibi in me iuris esse
volet et ambitio et ira; inter tot adfectus distrahar,
9 immo discerpar. Libertas proposita est; ad hoc
praemium laboratur. Quae sit libertas, quaeris?
Nulli rei servire, nulli necessitati, nullis casibus,
fortunam in aequum deducere. Quo die illā me[1]
intellexero plus posse, nil poterit. Ego illam feram,
cum in manu mors sit?

10 His cogitationibus intentum loca seria sanctaque
eligere oportet. Effeminat animos amoenitas nimia
nec dubie aliquid ad corrumpendum vigorem potest
regio. Quamlibet viam iumenta patiuntur, quorum
durata in aspero ungula est; in molli palustrique
pascuo saginata cito subteruntur. Et fortior miles
ex confragoso venit; segnis est urbanus et verna.
Nullum laborem recusant manus, quae ad arma ab
aratro transferuntur; in primo deficit pulvere ille
11 unctus et nitidus. Severior loci disciplina firmat
ingenium aptumque magnis conatibus reddit. Litern

[1] *quo die illa me* Lipsius; *quod die illā* P; *quo die illam* b;
quo die illum L.

heirs if we slacken, and our toil is greater than heirs even if we press ahead. Fortune is fighting gainst me, and I shall not carry out her commands. refuse to submit to the yoke; nay rather, I shake ff the yoke that is upon me,—an act which demands ven greater courage. The soul is not to be pampered; urrendering to pleasure means also surrendering to ain, surrendering to toil, surrendering to poverty. Both ambition and anger will wish to have the same ights over me as pleasure, and I shall be torn asunder, r rather pulled to pieces, amid all these conflicting assions. I have set freedom before my eyes; and am striving for that reward. And what is freedom, ou ask? It means not being a slave to any circum- ance, to any constraint, to any chance; it means ompelling Fortune to enter the lists on equal terms. nd on the day when I know that I have the upper and, her power will be naught. When I have eath in my own control, shall I take orders from er?

Therefore, a man occupied with such reflections ould choose an austere and pure dwelling-place. he spirit is weakened by surroundings that are too easant, and without a doubt one's place of residence n contribute towards impairing its vigour. Animals hose hoofs are hardened on rough ground can avel any road; but when they are fattened on ft marshy meadows their hoofs are soon worn out. ie bravest soldier comes from rock-ribbed regions; it the town-bred and the home-bred are sluggish action. The hand which turns from the plough to e sword never objects to toil; but your sleek and ll-dressed dandy quails at the first cloud of dust. ing trained in a rugged country strengthens the aracter and fits it for great undertakings. It was

honestius Scipio quam Bais exulabat; ruina eius non est tam molliter conlocanda. Illi quoque, ad quos primos fortuna populi Romani publicas opes transtulit, C. Marius et Cn. Pompeius et Caesar[1] extruxerunt quidem villas in regione Baiana, sed illas inposuerunt summis iugis montium. Videbatur hoc magis militare, ex edito speculari late longeque subiecta. Aspice, quam positionem elegerint, quibus aedificia excitaverint locis et qualia; scies non villas esse, sed castra.

12 Habitaturum tu putas umquam fuisse in mica[2] Catonem, ut praenavigantes adulteras dinumeraret et tot genera cumbarum variis coloribus picta et fluvitantem toto lacu rosam, ut audiret canentium nocturna convicia? Nonne ille manere intra vallum maluisset, quod in unam noctem manu sua ipse duxisset? Quidni mallet, quisquis vir est, somnum suum classico quam symphonia rumpi?

13 Sed satis diu cum Bais litigavimus, numquam satis cum vitiis, quae, oro te, Lucili, persequere sine modo, sine fine. Nam illis quoque nec finis est nec modus. Proice quaecumque cor tuum laniant, quae si aliter extrahi nequirent, cor ipsum cum illis revellendum erat. Voluptates praecipue exturba et invisissimas habe; latronum more, quos φιλητάς[3] Aegyptii vocant, in hoc nos amplectuntur, ut strangulent. Vale.

[1] Before *Caesar* Gertz, followed by Hense, adds *C.*
[2] *in mica* Lipsius; *inimica* LP. Friedländer, interpreting *mica* as a sort of casino, or fancy dining-hall, agrees with the reading of Lipsius and compares Martial, ii. 59. 1.
[3] φιλητάς Muretus; *hostilistas* L; *stilistas* P; *pstillistas* b

[a] See Letter lxxxvi.
[b] The Egyptians used the word φηλητής in the sense of "knave" or "foot-pad." The word is found in the *Heca*[le] of Callimachus. Hesychius defines it as equal to κλώ[πτης], "thief." It was pronounced in the same way as φιλητ[ής], "lover," and in late Greek was spelt in the same way.

more honourable in Scipio to spend his exile at Liternum[a] than at Baiae; his downfall did not need a setting so effeminate. Those also into whose hands the rising fortunes of Rome first transferred the wealth of the state, Gaius Marius, Gnaeus Pompey, and Caesar, did indeed build villas near Baiae; but they set them on the very tops of the mountains. This seemed more soldier-like, to look down from a lofty height upon lands spread far and wide below. Note the situation, position, and type of building which they chose; you will see that they were not country-places,—they were camps. Do you suppose that Cato would ever have dwelt in a pleasure-palace, that he might count the lewd women as they sailed past, the many kinds of barges painted in all sorts of colours, the roses which were wafted about the lake, or that he might listen to the nocturnal brawls of serenaders? Would he not have preferred to remain in the shelter of a trench thrown up by his own hands to serve for a single night? Would not anyone who is a man have his slumbers broken by a war-trumpet rather than by a chorus of serenaders?

But I have been haranguing against Baiae long enough; although I never could harangue often enough against vice. Vice, Lucilius, is what I wish you to proceed against, without limit and without end. For it has neither limit nor end. If any vice rend your heart, cast it away from you; and if you cannot be rid of it in any other way, pluck out your heart also. Above all, drive pleasures from your sight Hate them beyond all other things, for they are like the bandits whom the Egyptians call "lovers,"[b] who embrace us only to garrotte us. Farewell.

LII

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Quid est hoc, Lucili, quod nos alio tendentes alio trahit et eo, unde recedere cupimus, inpellit? Quid conluctatur cum animo nostro nec permittit nobis quicquam semel velle? Fluctuamur inter varia consilia. Nihil libere volumus, nihil absolute, nihil semper.
2 "Stultitia," inquis, "est, cui nihil constat, nihil diu placet." Sed quomodo nos aut quando ab illa revellemus? Nemo per se satis valet ut emergat; oportet manum aliquis porrigat, aliquis educat.

3 Quosdam ait Epicurus ad veritatem sine ullius adiutorio exisse, fecisse sibi ipsos viam. Hos maxime laudat, quibus ex se impetus fuit, qui se ipsi protulerunt. Quosdam indigere ope aliena, non ituros, si nemo praecesserit, sed bene secuturos. Ex his Metrodorum ait esse; egregium hoc quoque, sed secundae sortis ingenium. Nos ex illa prima nota non sumus; bene nobiscum agitur, si in secundam recipimur. Ne hunc quidem contempseris hominem, qui alieno beneficio esse salvus potest; et hoc multum est, velle servari.

4 Praeter haec adhuc invenies genus aliud hominum ne ipsum quidem fastidiendum eorum, qui cogi ad rectum conpellique possunt, quibus non duce tantum opus sit, sed adiutore et, ut ita dicam, coactore. Hic

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[a] Frag. 192 Usener.

LII. ON CHOOSING OUR TEACHERS

What is this force, Lucilius, that drags us in one direction when we are aiming in another, urging us on to the exact place from which we long to withdraw? What is it that wrestles with our spirit, and does not allow us to desire anything once for all? We veer from plan to plan. None of our wishes is free, none is unqualified, none is lasting. "But it is the fool," you say, "who is inconsistent; nothing suits him for long." But how or when can *we* tear ourselves away from this folly? No man by himself has sufficient strength to rise above it; he needs a helping hand, and some one to extricate him.

Epicurus[a] remarks that certain men have worked their way to the truth without any one's assistance, carving out their own passage. And he gives special praise to these, for their impulse has come from within, and they have forged to the front by themselves. Again, he says, there are others who need outside help, who will not proceed unless someone leads the way, but who will follow faithfully. Of these, he says, Metrodorus was one; this type of man is also excellent, but belongs to the second grade. We ourselves are not of that first class, either; we shall be well treated if we are admitted into the second. Nor need you despise a man who can gain salvation only with the assistance of another; the will to be saved means a great deal, too.

You will find still another class of man,—and a class not to be despised,—who can be forced and driven into righteousness, who do not need a guide as much as they require someone to encourage and, as it were, to force them along. This is the third

tertius color est. Si quaeris huius quoque exemplar, Hermarchum ait Epicurus talem fuisse. Itaque alteri magis gratulatur, alterum magis suspicit; quamvis enim ad eundem finem uterque pervenerit, tamen maior est laus idem effecisse in difficiliore materia.

5 Puta enim duo aedificia excitata esse, ab imo[1] disparia, aeque excelsa atque magnifica. Alterum puram aream accepit; illic protinus opus crevit. Alterum fundamenta lassarunt in mollem et fluvidam humum missa multumque laboris exhaustum est, dum pervenitur ad solidum. Intuenti ambo[2] quicquid fecit alter in aperto est, alterius[3] magna pars et difficilior

6 latet. Quaedam ingenia facilia, expedita, quaedam manu, quod aiunt, facienda sunt et in fundamentis suis occupata. Itaque illum ego feliciorem dixerim, qui nihil negotii secum habuit, hunc quidem melius de se meruisse, qui malignitatem naturae suae vicit et ad sapientiam se non perduxit, sed extraxit.

7 Hoc durum ac laboriosum ingenium nobis datum scias licet. Imus per obstantia. Itaque pugnemus, aliquorum invocemus auxilium. "Quem," inquis, "invocabo? Hunc aut illum[4]?" Tu vero etiam ad priores revertere, qui vacant; adiuvare nos possunt

[1] *ab imo* Buecheler; *ambo* MSS.
[2] *intuenti ambo* Buecheler; *inveniebo* LPb.
[3] *fecit alter in aperto est, alterius* Hense (*alter* in the later MSS); *fecit alterius* LPb.
[4] I have included *hunc aut illum* in the question of Lucilius. Hense gives to Seneca.

[a] *i.e.*, that of Metrodorus, who had the happier nature.
[b] *i.e.*, a representative of this school or that. Seneca's reply is, in effect, "Upon no present school; go to the ancients."

variety. If you ask me for a man of this pattern also, Epicurus tells us that Hermarchus was such. And of the two last-named classes, he is more ready to congratulate the one,[a] but he feels more respect for the other; for although both reached the same goal, it is a greater credit to have brought about the same result with the more difficult material upon which to work.

Suppose that two buildings have been erected, unlike as to their foundations, but equal in height and in grandeur. One is built on faultless ground, and the process of erection goes right ahead. In the other case, the foundations have exhausted the building materials, for they have been sunk into soft and shifting ground and much labour has been wasted in reaching the solid rock. As one looks at both of them, one sees clearly what progress the former has made, but the larger and more difficult part of the latter is hidden. So with men's dispositions; some are pliable and easy to manage, but others have to be laboriously wrought out by hand, so to speak, and are wholly employed in the making of their own foundations. I should accordingly deem more fortunate the man who has never had any trouble with himself; but the other, I feel, has deserved better of himself, who has won a victory over the meanness of his own nature, and has not gently led himself, but has wrestled his way, to wisdom.

You may be sure that this refractory nature, which demands much toil, has been implanted in us. There are obstacles in our path; so let us fight, and call to our assistance some helpers. "Whom," you say, "shall I call upon? Shall it be this man or that[b]?" There is another choice also open to you; you may go to the ancients; for they have the

8 non tantum qui sunt, sed qui fuerunt. Ex his autem, qui sunt, eligamus non eos, qui verba magna celeritate praecipitant et communes locos volvunt et in privato circulantur, sed eos, qui vita[1] docent, qui cum dixerunt, quid faciendum sit, probant faciendo, qui docent, quid vitandum sit, nec umquam in eo, quod fugiendum dixerunt, deprehenduntur.

Eum elige adiutorem, quem magis admireris, cum
9 videris quam cum audieris. Nec ideo te prohibuerim hos quoque audire, quibus admittere populum ac disserere consuetudo est, si modo hoc proposito in turbam prodeunt, ut meliores fiant faciantque meliores, si non ambitionis hoc causa exercent. Quid enim turpius philosophia captante clamores? Numquid
10 aeger laudat medicum secantem? Tacete, favete et praebete vos curationi. Etiam si exclamaveritis, non aliter audiam, quam si ad tactum vitiorum vestrorum ingemescatis. Testari vultis adtendere vos moverique magnitudine rerum? Sane liceat; ut quidem iudicetis et feratis de meliore suffragium, quidni non permittam? Apud Pythagoram discipulis quinque annis tacendum erat; numquid ergo existimas statim illis et loqui et laudare licuisse?

11 Quanta autem dementia eius est, quem clamores inperitorum hilarem ex auditorio dimittunt? Quid laetaris, quod ab hominibus his laudatus es, quos non

[1] *vita* Muretus; *vitam* LPb; Hense suggests *vitam vita.*

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[a] *Circulatores* were travelling showmen who performed sword-swallowing and snake-charming feats, or cheap stump speakers who displayed their eloquence at the street-corners in the hope of a few pence. The word is also found in the sense of "pedlar".

[b] This and what follows, to § 11, are the words with which a true philosopher is supposed to address his hearers.

time to help you. We can get assistance not only from the living, but from those of the past. Let us choose, however, from among the living, not men who pour forth their words with the greatest glibness, turning out commonplaces, and holding, as it were, their own little private exhibitions,[a]—not these, I say, but men who teach us by their lives, men who tell us what we ought to do and then prove it by practice, who show us what we should avoid, and then are never caught doing that which they have ordered us to avoid.

Choose as a guide one whom you will admire more when you see him act than when you hear him speak. Of course I would not prevent you from listening also to those philosophers who are wont to hold public meetings and discussions, provided they appear before the people for the express purpose of improving themselves and others, and do not practise their profession for the sake of self-seeking. For what is baser than philosophy courting applause? Does the sick man praise the surgeon while he is operating? In silence and with reverent awe submit to the cure.[b] Even though you cry applause, I shall listen to your cries as if you were groaning when your sores were touched. Do you wish to bear witness that you are attentive, that you are stirred by the grandeur of the subject? You may do this at the proper time; I shall of course allow you to pass judgment and cast a vote as to the better course. Pythagoras made his pupils keep silence for five years; do you think that they had the right on that account to break out immediately into applause?

How mad is he who leaves the lecture-room in a happy frame of mind simply because of applause from the ignorant! Why do you take pleasure in being praised by men whom you yourself cannot praise?

potes ipse laudare? Disserebat populo Fabianus, sed audiebatur modeste. Erumpebat interdum magnus clamor laudantium, sed quem rerum magnitudo evocaverat, non sonus inoffense ac molliter orationis
12 elapsae. Intersit aliquid inter clamorem theatri et scholae; est aliqua et laudandi decentia.[1] Omnia rerum omnium, si observentur, indicia sunt et argumentum morum ex minimis quoque licet capere: inpudicum et incessus ostendit et manus mota et unum interdum responsum et relatus ad caput digitus et flexus oculorum. Inprobum risus, insanum vultus habitusque demonstrat. Illa enim in apertum per notas exeunt; qualis quisque sit, scies, si quemadmodum laudet, quemadmodum laudetur, aspexeris.
13 Hinc atque illinc philosopho manus auditor intentat et super ipsum caput mirantium turba consistit; non laudatur ille nunc, si intellegis, sed conclamatur. Relinquantur istae voces illis artibus, quae propositum
14 habent populo placere; philosophia adoretur. Permittendum erit aliquando iuvenibus sequi impetum animi, tunc autem, cum hoc ex impetu facient, cum silentium sibi imperare non poterunt. Talis laudatio aliquid exhortationis adfert ipsis audientibus et animos adulescentium exstimulat. Ad rem commoveantur, non ad verba conposita; alioquin nocet illis eloquentia, si non rerum cupiditatem facit, sed sui.

[1] *decentia* Koch; *licentia* LPb; *scientia* later MSS. Gertz conj. *diligentia.*

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[a] The scratching of the head with one finger was for some reason regarded as a mark of effeminacy or of vice; *cf.* the charge brought against Pompey, Plutarch, *Moralia,* 89 E and Ammianus, 17. 11 *quod genuino quodam more caput digito uno scalpebat . . . ut dissolutum.* Compare also Juvenal, ix. 133 *scalpere caput digito.*

Fabianus used to give popular talks, but his audience listened with self-control. Occasionally a loud shout of praise would burst forth, but it was prompted by the greatness of his subject, and not by the sound of oratory that slipped forth pleasantly and softly. There should be a difference between the applause of the theatre and the applause of the school; and there is a certain decency even in bestowing praise. If you mark them carefully, all acts are always significant, and you can gauge character by even the most trifling signs. The lecherous man is revealed by his gait, by a movement of the hand, sometimes by a single answer, by his touching his head with a finger,[a] by the shifting of his eye. The scamp is shown up by his laugh; the madman by his face and general appearance. These qualities become known by certain marks; but you can tell the character of every man when you see how he gives and receives praise. The philosopher's audience, from this corner and that, stretch forth admiring hands, and sometimes the adoring crowd almost hang over the lecturer's head. But, if you really understand, that is not praise; it is merely applause. These outcries should be left for the arts which aim to please the crowd; let philosophy be worshipped in silence. Young men, indeed, must sometimes have free play to follow their impulses, but it should only be at times when they act from impulse, and when they cannot force themselves to be silent. Such praise as that gives a certain kind of encouragement to the hearers themselves, and acts as a spur to the youthful mind. But let them be roused to the matter, and not to the style; otherwise, eloquence does them harm, making them enamoured of itself, and not of the subject.

15 Differam hoc in praesentia; desiderat enim propriam et longam exsecutionem, quemadmodum populo disserendum, quid sibi apud populum permittendum sit, quid populo apud se. Damnum quidem fecisse philosophiam non erit dubium, postquam prostituta est. Sed potest in penetralibus suis ostendi, si modo non institorem, sed antistitem nancta est. VALE.

LIII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Quid non potest mihi persuaderi, cui persuasum est ut navigarem? Solvi mari languido. Erat sine dubio caelum grave sordidis nubibus, quae fere aut in aquam aut in ventum resolvuntur. Sed putavi tam pauca milia a Parthenope tua usque Puteolos subripi posse, quamvis dubio et inpendente caelo. Itaque quo celerius evaderem, protinus per altum ad
2 Nesida derexi praecisurus omnes sinus. Cum iam eo processissem, ut mea nihil interesset, utrum irem an redirem, primum aequalitas illa, quae me corruperat, periit. Nondum erat tempestas, sed iam inclinatio maris ac subinde crebrior fluctus. Coepi gubernatorem rogare, ut me in aliquo litore exponeret. Aiebat ille aspera esse et inportuosa nec quicquam se aeque in
3 tempestate timere quam terram. Peius autem vexabar,

[a] The poetical name for Naples; perhaps it was once a town near by which gave a sort of romantic second title to the larger city. Professor Summers thinks that this poetical name, together with *tua*, indicates a reference to a passage from the verse of Lucilius. Perhaps, however, *tua* means nothing more than "the place which you love so well," being in the neighbourhood of Pompeii, the birthplace of Lucilius.

[b] An islet near the mouth of the bay wherein Baiae was situated. Puteoli was on the opposite side of the bay from Baiae.

I shall postpone this topic for the present; it demands a long and special investigation, to show how the public should be addressed, what indulgences should be allowed to a speaker on a public occasion, and what should be allowed to the crowd itself in the presence of the speaker. There can be no doubt that philosophy has suffered a loss, now that she has exposed her charms for sale. But she can still be viewed in her sanctuary, if her exhibitor is a priest and not a pedlar. Farewell.

LIII. ON THE FAULTS OF THE SPIRIT

You can persuade me into almost anything now, for I was recently persuaded to travel by water. We cast off when the sea was lazily smooth; the sky, to be sure, was heavy with nasty clouds, such as usually break into rain or squalls. Still, I thought that the few miles between Puteoli and your dear Parthenope[a] might be run off in quick time, despite the uncertain and lowering sky. So, in order to get away more quickly, I made straight out to sea for Nesis,[b] with the purpose of cutting across all the inlets. But when we were so far out that it made little difference to me whether I returned or kept on, the calm weather, which had enticed me, came to naught. The storm had not yet begun, but the ground-swell was on, and the waves kept steadily coming faster. I began to ask the pilot to put me ashore somewhere; he replied that the coast was rough and a bad place to land, and that in a storm he feared a lee shore more than anything else. But

quam ut mihi periculum succurreret. Nausia enim me segnis haec et sine exitu torquebat, quae bilem movet nec effundit. Institi itaque gubernatori et illum, vellet nollet, coegi, peteret litus. Cuius ut viciniam attigimus, non expecto, ut quicquam ex praeceptis Vergilii fiat,

> Obvertunt pelago proras

aut

> Ancora de prora iacitur;

memor artificii mei vetus frigidae cultor mitto me in mare, quomodo psychrolutam decet, gausapatus.
4 Quae putas me passum, dum per aspera erepo, dum viam quaero, dum facio? Intellexi non inmerito nautis terram timeri. Incredibilia sunt, quae tulerim, cum me ferre non possem[1]; illud scito, Vlixem non fuisse tam irato mari natum, ut ubique naufragia faceret; nausiator erat. Et ego quocumque navigare debuero, vicensimo anno perveniam.

5 Ut primum stomachum, quem scis non cum mari nausiam effugere, collegi, ut corpus unctione recreavi, hoc coepi mecum cogitare, quanta nos vitiorum nostrorum sequeretur oblivio, etiam corporalium, quae subinde admonent sui, nedum illorum, quae eo
6 magis latent, quo maiora sunt. Levis aliquem motiuncula decipit; sed cum crevit et vera febris exarsit,

[1] *possem* Erasmus; *possim* MSS.

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[a] *Aeneid*, vi. 3. This was the usual method of mooring a ship in ancient times.
[b] *Aeneid*, iii. 277.
[c] Compare *Ep*. lxxxiii. 5.
[d] Ulysses took ten years on his journey, because of sea-sickness; Seneca will need twice as many.

I was suffering too grievously to think of the danger, since a sluggish seasickness which brought no relief was racking me, the sort that upsets the liver without clearing it. Therefore I laid down the law to my pilot, forcing him to make for the shore, willy-nilly. When we drew near, I did not wait for things to be done in accordance with Vergil's orders, until

Prow faced seawards [a]

or

Anchor plunged from bow ; [b]

I remembered my profession [c] as a veteran devotee of cold water, and, clad as I was in my cloak, let myself down into the sea, just as a cold-water bather should. What do you think my feelings were, scrambling over the rocks, searching out the path, or making one for myself? I understood that sailors have good reason to fear the land. It is hard to believe what I endured when I could not endure myself; you may be sure that the reason why Ulysses was shipwrecked on every possible occasion was not so much because the sea-god was angry with him from his birth; he was simply subject to seasickness. And in the future I also, if I must go anywhere by sea, shall only reach my destination in the twentieth year.[d]

When I finally calmed my stomach (for you know that one does not escape seasickness by escaping from the sea) and refreshed my body with a rub-down, I began to reflect how completely we forget or ignore our failings, even those that affect the body, which are continually reminding us of their existence, —not to mention those which are more serious in proportion as they are more hidden. A slight ague deceives us; but when it has increased and a genuine fever has begun to burn, it forces even a hardy man,

etiam duro et perpessicio confessionem excipit. Pedes dolent, articuli punctiunculas sentiunt; adhuc dissimulamus et aut talum extorsisse dicimus nos aut in exercitatione aliqua laborasse. Dubio et incipiente morbo quaeritur nomen, qui ubi etiam talaria[1] coepit intendere et utrosque dextros[2] pedes fecit, necesse
7 est podagram fateri. Contra evenit in his morbis, quibus adficiuntur animi; quo quis peius se habet, minus sentit. Non est quod mireris, Lucili carissime. Nam qui leviter dormit, et species secundum quietem capit et aliquando dormire se dormiens cogitat; gravis sopor etiam somnia extinguit animumque altius
8 mergit, quam ut in ullo intellectu sui sit.[3] Quare vitia sua nemo confitetur? Quia etiamnunc in illis est; somnium narrare vigilantis est, et vitia sua confiteri sanitatis indicium est.

Expergiscamur ergo, ut errores nostros coarguere possimus. Sola autem nos philosophia excitabit, sola somnum excutiet gravem. Illi te totum dedica. Dignus illa es, illa digna te est; ite in conplexum alter alterius. Omnibus aliis rebus te nega, fortiter, aperte. Non est quod precario philosopheris.

9 Si aeger esses, curam intermisisses rei familiaris et forensia tibi negotia excidissent nec quemquam tanti putares, cui advocatus in remissione descenderes. Toto animo id ageres, ut quam primum morbo libera-

[1] *etiam talaria* Hense; *ut talaria* MSS.
[2] Hense suspects *dextros*, for which Toup conjectured *distortos*, comparing *Ep.* lxvii. 3.
[3] *ut in ullo intellectu sui sit* Schultess; *ut in ullo intellectus sui est* L; *ut in nullo intellectu sui est* V; *uti nullo intellectu sui est* pPb.

[a] That is, they are so swollen that left and right look alike.
[b] Literally "on sufferance," whenever other matters permit. Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* vii. 30 *precario studeo*,—"subject to interruption from others."

who can endure much suffering, to admit that he is ill. There is pain in the foot, and a tingling sensation in the joints; but we still hide the complaint and announce that we have sprained a joint, or else are tired from over-exercise. Then the ailment, uncertain at first, must be given a name; and when it begins to swell the ankles also, and has made both our feet "right" feet,[a] we are bound to confess that we have the gout. The opposite holds true of diseases of the soul; the worse one is, the less one perceives it. You need not be surprised, my beloved Lucilius. For he whose sleep is light pursues visions during slumber, and sometimes, though asleep, is conscious that he is asleep; but sound slumber annihilates our very dreams and sinks the spirit down so deep that it has no perception of self. Why will no man confess his faults? Because he is still in their grasp; only he who is awake can recount his dream, and similarly a confession of sin is a proof of sound mind.

Let us, therefore, rouse ourselves, that we may be able to correct our mistakes. Philosophy, however, is the only power that can stir us, the only power that can shake off our deep slumber. Devote yourself wholly to philosophy. You are worthy of her; she is worthy of you; greet one another with a loving embrace. Say farewell to all other interests with courage and frankness. Do not study philosophy merely during your spare time.[b]

If you were ill, you would stop caring for your personal concerns, and forget your business duties; you would not think highly enough of any client to take active charge of his case during a slight abatement of your sufferings. You would try your hardest to be rid of the illness as soon as possible. What,

reris. Quid ergo? Non et nunc idem facies? Omnia inpedimenta dimitte et vaca bonae menti; nemo ad illam pervenit occupatus. Exercet philosophia regnum suum; dat tempus, non accipit. Non est res subsiciva, ordinaria est; domina est, adesse iubet.[1]
10 Alexander cuidam civitati partem agrorum et dimidium rerum omnium promittenti "Eo," inquit, "proposito in Asiam veni, ut non id acciperem, quod dedissetis, sed ut id haberetis, quod reliquissem." Idem philosophia rebus omnibus, "Non sum hoc tempus acceptura, quod vobis superfuerit, sed id vos habebitis, quod ipsa reiecero.[2]"

11 Totam huc converte mentem, huic adside, hanc cole; ingens intervallum inter te et ceteros fiet. Omnes mortales multo antecedes, non multo te di antecedent. Quaeris, quid inter te et illos interfuturum sit? Diutius erunt. At mehercules magni artificis est clusisse totum in exiguo. Tantum sapienti sua, quantum deo omnis aetas patet. Est aliquid, quo sapiens antecedat deum: ille naturae
12 beneficio non timet, suo sapiens. Ecce res magna, habere inbecillitatem hominis, securitatem dei. Incredibilis philosophiae vis est ad omnem fortuitam vim retundendam. Nullum telum in corpore eius sedet; munita est, solida. Quaedam defetigat et

[1] *adesse iubet* Haase; *adest et iubet* MSS.

[2] *reiecero* Lipsius; *re aegero* p; *re egero* L; *reegero* PV. Haase conj. *erogaro*, Mueck *relegaro*.

then? Shall you not do the same thing now? Throw aside all hindrances and give up your time to getting a sound mind; for no man can attain it if he is engrossed in other matters. Philosophy wields her own authority; she appoints her own time and does not allow it to be appointed for her. She is not a thing to be followed at odd times, but a subject for daily practice; she is mistress, and she commands our attendance. Alexander, when a certain state promised him a part of its territory and half its entire property, replied: "I invaded Asia with the intention, not of accepting what you might give, but of allowing you to keep what I might leave." Philosophy likewise keeps saying to all occupations: "I do not intend to accept the time which you have left over, but I shall allow you to keep what I myself shall leave."

Turn to her, therefore, with all your soul, sit at her feet, cherish her; a great distance will then begin to separate you from other men. You will be far ahead of all mortals, and even the gods will not be far ahead of you. Do you ask what will be the difference between yourself and the gods? They will live longer. But, by my faith, it is the sign of a great artist to have confined a full likeness to the limits of a miniature. The wise man's life spreads out to him over as large a surface as does all eternity to a god. There is one point in which the sage has an advantage over the god; for a god is freed from terrors by the bounty of nature, the wise man by his own bounty. What a wonderful privilege, to have the weaknesses of a man and the serenity of a god! The power of philosophy to blunt the blows of chance is beyond belief. No missile can settle in her body; she is well-protected and impenetrable. She spoils the force of some missiles and wards them

velut levia tela laxo sinu eludit, quaedam discutit et in eum usque, qui miserat, respuit. VALE.

LIIII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Longum mihi commeatum[1] dederat mala valitudo; repente me invasit. "Quo genere?" inquis. Prorsus merito interrogas; adeo nullum mihi ignotum est. Uni tamen morbo quasi adsignatus sum, quem quare Graeco nomine appellem nescio; satis enim apte dici suspirium potest. Brevis autem valde et procellae similis est impetus; intra horam fere desinit.
2 Quis enim diu exspirat? Omnia corporis aut incommoda aut pericula per me transierunt; nullum mihi videtur molestius. Quidni? Aliud enim quicquid est, aegrotare est, hoc animam egerere. Itaque medici hanc "meditationem mortis" vocant. Faciet[2] enim aliquando spiritus ille, quod saepe conatus est.
3 Hilarem me putas haec tibi scribere, quia effugi? Tam ridicule facio, si hoc fine quasi bona valitudine delector, quam ille, quisquis vicisse se putat, cum vadimonium distulit. Ego vero et in ipsa suffocatione non desii cogitationibus laetis ac fortibus adquiescere.
4 "Quid hoc est?" inquam. "Tam saepe mors

[1] *commeatum* Lipsius; *comitatum* MSS.
[2] *faciet* Lipsius; *facit* MSS.

[a] *i.e.*, asthma. Seneca thinks that the Latin name is good enough.

[b] Celsus (iv. 8) gives this disease as the second of those which deal with the respiratory organs: *cum vehementior est, ut spirare aeger sine sono et anhelatione non possit.*

off with the loose folds of her gown, as if they had no power to harm; others she dashes aside, and hurls them back with such force that they recoil upon the sender. Farewell.

LIV. ON ASTHMA AND DEATH

My ill-health had allowed me a long furlough, when suddenly it resumed the attack. "What kind of ill-health?" you say. And you surely have a right to ask; for it is true that no kind is unknown to me. But I have been consigned, so to speak, to one special ailment. I do not know why I should call it by its Greek name [a]; for it is well enough described as "shortness of breath." Its attack is of very brief duration, like that of a squall at sea; it usually ends within an hour. Who indeed could breathe his last for long? I have passed through all the ills and dangers of the flesh; but nothing seems to me more troublesome than this. And naturally so; for anything else may be called illness; but this is a sort of continued "last gasp." [b] Hence physicians call it "practising how to die." For some day the breath will succeed in doing what it has so often essayed. Do you think I am writing this letter in a merry spirit, just because I have escaped? It would be absurd to take delight in such supposed restoration to health, as it would be for a defendant to imagine that he had won his case when he had succeeded in postponing his trial. Yet in the midst of my difficult breathing I never ceased to rest secure in cheerful and brave thoughts.

"What?" I say to myself; "does death so often

experitur me? Faciat; ego[1] illam diu expertus sum." "Quando?" inquis. Antequam nascerer. Mors est non esse; id quale sit, iam scio. Hoc erit post me, quod ante me fuit. Si quid in hac re tormenti est, necesse est et fuisse, antequam prodiremus in lucem; atqui nullam sensimus tunc
5 vexationem. Rogo, non stultissimum dicas, si quis existimet lucernae peius esse, cum extincta est, quam antequam accenditur? Nos quoque et extinguimur et accendimur; medio illo tempore aliquid patimur, utrimque vero alta securitas est. In hoc enim, mi Lucili, nisi fallor, erramus, quod mortem iudicamus sequi, cum illa et praecesserit et secutura sit. Quicquid ante nos fuit, mors est. Quid enim refert, non incipias an desinas, cum utriusque rei hic sit effectus, non esse?

6 His et eiusmodi exhortationibus, tacitis scilicet, nam verbis locus non erat, adloqui me non desii. Deinde paulatim suspirium illud, quod esse iam anhelitus coeperat, intervalla maiora fecit et retardatum est ac remansit. Nec adhuc, quamvis desierit, ex natura fluit spiritus; sentio haesitationem quandam eius et moram. Quomodo volet, dummodo non ex
7 animo suspirem. Hoc tibi de me recipe; non trepidabo ad extrema, iam praeparatus sum, nihil cogito de die toto. Illum tu lauda et imitare, quem

[1] Before *ego* the MSS. read *at*; Gertz removed it from the text.

[a] *i.e.*, that the sigh be physical,—an asthmatic gasp,—and not caused by anguish of soul.

[b] The argument is: I am ready to die, but do not praise me on that account; reserve your praise for him who is not loth to die, though (unlike me) he finds it a pleasure to live (because he is in good health). Yes, for there is no more virtue in accepting death when one hates life, than there is in leaving a place when one is ejected.

test me? Let it do so; I myself have for a long time tested death." "When?" you ask. Before I was born. Death is non-existence, and I know already what that means. What was before me will happen again after me. If there is any suffering in this state, there must have been such suffering also in the past, before we entered the light of day. As a matter of fact, however, we felt no discomfort then. And I ask you, would you not say that one was the greatest of fools who believed that a lamp was worse off when it was extinguished than before it was lighted? We mortals also are lighted and extinguished; the period of suffering comes in between, but on either side there is a deep peace. For, unless I am very much mistaken, my dear Lucilius, we go astray in thinking that death only follows, when in reality it has both preceded us and will in turn follow us. Whatever condition existed before our birth, is death. For what does it matter whether you do not begin at all, or whether you leave off, inasmuch as the result of both these states is non-existence?

I have never ceased to encourage myself with cheering counsels of this kind, silently, of course, since I had not the power to speak; then little by little this shortness of breath, already reduced to a sort of panting, came on at greater intervals, and then slowed down and finally stopped. Even by this time, although the gasping has ceased, the breath does not come and go normally; I still feel a sort of hesitation and delay in breathing. Let it be as it pleases, provided there be no sigh from the soul.[a] Accept this assurance from me: I shall never be frightened when the last hour comes; I am already prepared and do not plan a whole day ahead. But do you praise[b] and imitate the man whom it does not

non piget mori, cum iuvet vivere. Quae est enim virtus cum eiciaris exire? Tamen est et hic virtus; eicior quidem, sed tanquam exeam. Et ideo numquam eicitur sapiens, quia eici est inde expelli, unde invitus recedas; nihil invitus facit sapiens, necessitatem effugit, quia vult quod coactura est. VALE.

LV.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 A gestatione cum maxime venio non minus fatigatus, quam si tantum ambulassem, quantum sedi. Labor est enim et diu ferri, ac nescio an eo maior, quia contra naturam est, quae pedes dedit, ut per nos ambularemus, oculos, ut per nos videremus. Debilitatem nobis indixere deliciae, et quod diu nolui-
2 mus, posse desîmus. Mihi tamen necessarium erat concutere corpus, ut sive bilis insederat faucibus, discuteretur, sive ipse ex aliqua causa spiritus densior erat, extenuaret illum iactatio, quam profuisse mihi sensi. Ideo diutius vehi perseveravi invitante ipso litore, quod inter Cumas et Servili Vatiae villam curvatur et hinc mari, illinc lacu velut angustum iter cluditur. Erat enim a recenti tempestate spis-

[a] Cumae was on the coast about six miles north of Cape Misenum. Lake Acheron (see § 6) was a salt-water pool between those two points, separated from the sea by a sandbar; it lay near Lake Avernus and probably derived its name from that fact. The Vatia mentioned here is unknown; he must not be confused with Isauricus.

irk to die, though he takes pleasure in living. For what virtue is there in going away when you are thrust out? And yet there is virtue even in this: I am indeed thrust out, but it is as if I were going away willingly. For that reason the wise man can never be thrust out, because that would mean removal from a place which he was unwilling to leave; and the wise man does nothing unwillingly. He escapes necessity, because he wills to do what necessity is about to force upon him. Farewell.

LV. ON VATIA'S VILLA

I have just returned from a ride in my litter; and I am as weary as if I had walked the distance, instead of being seated. Even to be carried for any length of time is hard work, perhaps all the more so because it is an unnatural exercise; for Nature gave us legs with which to do our own walking, and eyes with which to do our own seeing. Our luxuries have condemned us to weakness; we have ceased to be able to do that which we have long declined to do. Nevertheless, I found it necessary to give my body a shaking up, in order that the bile which had gathered in my throat, if that was my trouble, might be shaken out, or, if the very breath within me had become, for some reason, too thick, that the jolting, which I have felt was a good thing for me, might make it thinner. So I insisted on being carried longer than usual, along an attractive beach, which bends between Cumae and Servilius Vatia's country-house,[a] shut in by the sea on one side and the lake on the other, just like a narrow path. It was packed firm under foot, because of a recent

sum. Fluctus autem illud, ut scis, frequens et concitatus exaequat, longior tranquillitas solvit, cum harenis, quae umore alligantur, sucus abscessit.

3 Ex consuetudine tamen mea circumspicere coepi, an aliquid illic invenirem, quod mihi posset bono esse, et derexi[1] oculos in villam, quae aliquando Vatiae fuit. In hac ille praetorius dives, nulla alia re quam otio notus, consenuit et ob hoc unum felix habebatur. Nam quotiens aliquos amicitiae Asinii Galli, quotiens Seiani odium, deinde amor merserat, aeque enim offendisse illum quam amasse periculosum fuit, exclamabant homines: "O Vatia, solus scis vivere."
4 At ille latere sciebat, non vivere. Multum autem interest, utrum vita tua otiosa sit an ignava. Numquam aliter hanc villam Vatia vivo praeteribam, quam ut dicerem: "Vatia hic situs est."

Sed adeo, mi Lucili, philosophia sacrum quiddam est et venerabile, ut etiam, si quid illi simile est, mendacio placeat. Otiosum enim hominem seductum existimat vulgus et securum et se contentum, sibi viventem, quorum nihil ulli contingere nisi sapienti
5 potest. Ille sollicitus scit sibi vivere?[2] Ille enim, quod est primum, scit vivere? Nam qui res et homines fugit, quem cupiditatum suarum infelicitas

[1] *derexi* Hense; *direxi* MSS.
[2] This and the next sentence are punctuated according to Summers; Hense takes them as declarations, but suggests *solus non sollicitus*, since *solus* is added above the line in V, and in P *sollicitus* has been corrected to *solus*.

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[a] Son of Asinius Pollio; his frankness got him into trouble and he died of starvation in a dungeon in A.D. 33. Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 13. 2, quotes Augustus, discussing his own successor, as saying of Gallus *avidus et minor*. Sejanus was overthrown and executed in A.D. 31.
[b] *i.e.*, after his fall.

storm; since, as you know, the waves, when they beat upon the beach hard and fast, level it out; but a continuous period of fair weather loosens it, when the sand, which is kept firm by the water, loses its moisture.

As my habit is, I began to look about for something there that might be of service to me, when my eyes fell upon the villa which had once belonged to Vatia. So this was the place where that famous praetorian millionaire passed his old age! He was famed for nothing else than his life of leisure, and he was regarded as lucky only for that reason. For whenever men were ruined by their friendship with Asinius Gallus,[a] whenever others were ruined by their hatred of Sejanus, and later[b] by their intimacy with him,—for it was no more dangerous to have offended him than to have loved him,—people used to cry out: "O Vatia, you alone know how to live!" But what he knew was how to hide, not how to live; and it makes a great deal of difference whether your life be one of leisure or one of idleness. So I never drove past his country-place during Vatia's lifetime without saying to myself: "Here lies Vatia!"

But, my dear Lucilius, philosophy is a thing of holiness, something to be worshipped, so much so that the very counterfeit pleases. For the mass of mankind consider that a person is at leisure who has withdrawn from society, is free from care, self-sufficient, and lives for himself; but these privileges can be the reward only of the wise man. Does he who is a victim of anxiety know how to live for himself? What? Does he even know (and that is of first importance) how to live at all? For the man who has fled from affairs and from men, who has been banished to seclusion by the unhappiness which his own

relegavit, qui alios feliciores videre non potuit, qui velut timidum atque iners animal metu oblituit, ille sibi non vivit, sed, quod est turpissimum, ventri, somno, libidini. Non continuo sibi vivit, qui nemini. Adeo tamen magna res est constantia et in proposito suo perseverantia, ut habeat auctoritatem inertia quoque pertinax.

6 De ipsa villa nihil tibi possum certi scribere. Frontem enim eius tantum novi et exposita, quae ostendit etiam transeuntibus. Speluncae sunt duae magni operis, cuivis[1] laxo atrio pares, manu factae, quarum altera solem non recipit, altera usque in occidentem tenet. Platanona medius rivus et a mari et ab Acherusio lacu receptus euripi modo dividit, alendis piscibus, etiam si adsidue exhauriatur, sufficiens. Sed illi, cum mare patet, parcitur; cum tempestas piscatoribus dedit ferias, manus
7 ad parata porrigitur. Hoc tamen est commodissimum in villa, quod Baias trans parietem habet; incommodis illarum caret, voluptatibus fruitur. Has laudes eius ipse novi; esse illam totius anni credo. Occurrit enim favonio et illum adeo excipit, ut Bais neget. Non stulte videtur elegisse hunc locum

[1] *cuivis* Lipsius; *cuius* MSS.

[a] *i.e.*, imposes on us.

[b] Literally, "like a Euripus," referring to the narrow strait which divides Euboea from Boeotia at Chalcis. Its current is swift.

desires have brought upon him, who cannot see his neighbour more happy than himself, who through fear has taken to concealment, like a frightened and sluggish animal,—this person is not living for himself; he is living for his belly, his sleep, and his lust,—and that is the most shameful thing in the world. He who lives for no one does not necessarily live for himself. Nevertheless, there is so much in steadfastness and adherence to one's purpose that even sluggishness, if stubbornly maintained, assumes an air of authority[a] with us.

I could not describe the villa accurately; for I am familiar only with the front of the house, and with the parts which are in public view and can be seen by the mere passer-by. There are two grottoes, which cost a great deal of labour, as big as the most spacious hall, made by hand. One of these does not admit the rays of the sun, while the other keeps them until the sun sets. There is also a stream running through a grove of plane-trees, which draws for its supply both on the sea and on Lake Acheron; it intersects the grove just like a race-way,[b] and is large enough to support fish, although its waters are continually being drawn off. When the sea is calm, however, they do not use the stream, only touching the well-stocked waters when the storms give the fishermen a forced holiday. But the most convenient thing about the villa is the fact that Baiae is next door, it is free from all the inconveniences of that resort, and yet enjoys its pleasures. I myself understand these attractions, and I believe that it is a villa suited to every season of the year. It fronts the west wind, which it intercepts in such a way that Baiae is denied it. So it seems that Vatia was no fool when he selected this place as the best in which to

Vatia, in quem otium suum pigrum iam et senile conferret.

8 Sed non multum ad tranquillitatem locus confert; animus est, qui sibi commendet omnia. Vidi ego in villa hilari et amoena maestos, vidi in media solitudine occupatis similes. Quare non est quod existimes ideo parum bene conpositum esse te, quod in Campania non es. Quare autem non es? Huc usque
9 cogitationes tuas mitte. Conversari cum amicis absentibus licet, et quidem quotiens velis, quamdiu velis. Magis hac voluptate, quae maxima est, fruimur, dum absumus. Praesentia enim nos delicatos facit, et quia aliquando una loquimur, ambulamus, consedimus, cum diducti sumus, nihil de is,[1] quos modo
10 vidimus, cogitamus. Et ideo aequo animo ferre debemus absentiam, quia nemo non multum etiam praesentibus abest. Pone hic primum noctes separatas, deinde occupationes utrique diversas, deinde studia secreta, suburbanas profectiones; videbis non
11 multum esse, quod nobis peregrinatio eripiat. Amicus animo possidendus est; hic autem numquam abest. Quemcumque vult, cotidie videt.

Itaque mecum stude, mecum cena, mecum ambula. In angusto vivebamus, si quicquam esset cogitationibus clusum. Video te, mi Lucili; cum maxime

[1] *de is* Hense; *deis* or *de his* MSS.

LVII. ON THE TRIALS OF TRAVEL

When it was time for me to return to Naples from Baiae, I easily persuaded myself that a storm was raging, that I might avoid another trip by sea; and yet the road was so deep in mud, all the way, that I may be thought none the less to have made a voyage. On that day I had to endure the full fate of an athlete; the anointing[a] with which we began was followed by the sand-sprinkle in the Naples tunnel.[b] No place could be longer than that prison; nothing could be dimmer than those torches, which enabled us, not to see amid the darkness, but to see the darkness. But, even supposing that there was light in the place, the dust, which is an oppressive and disagreeable thing even in the open air, would destroy the light; how much worse the dust is there, where it rolls back upon itself, and, being shut in without ventilation, blows back in the faces of those who set it going! So we endured two inconveniences at the same time, and they were diametrically different: we struggled both with mud and with dust on the same road and on the same day.

The gloom, however, furnished me with some food for thought; I felt a certain mental thrill, and a transformation unaccompanied by fear, due to the novelty and the unpleasantness of an unusual occurrence. Of course I am not speaking to you of myself at this point, because I am far from being a perfect person, or even a man of middling qualities; I refer to one over whom fortune has lost her control. Even such a man's mind will be smitten with a thrill and

4 Quaedam enim, mi Lucili, nulla effugere virtus potest; admonet illam natura mortalitatis suae. Itaque et vultum adducet ad tristia[1] et inhorrescet ad subita et caligabit, si vastam altitudinem in crepidine eius constitutus despexerit; non est hoc timor, sed naturalis adfectio inexpugnabilis rationi.
5 Itaque fortes quidam et paratissimi fundere suum sanguinem alienum videre non possunt. Quidam ad vulneris novi, quidam ad veteris et purulenti tractationem inspectionemque succidunt ac linquuntur animo. Alii gladium facilius recipiunt quam vident.

6 Sensi ergo, ut dicebam, quandam non quidem perturbationem, sed mutationem. Rursus ad primum conspectum redditae lucis alacritas rediit incogitata et iniussa. Illud deinde mecum loqui coepi, quam inepte quaedam magis aut minus timeremus, cum omnium idem finis esset. Quid enim interest, utrum supra aliquem vigilarium ruat an mons? Nihil invenies. Erunt tamen, qui hanc ruinam magis timeant, quamvis utraque mortifera aeque sit; adeo non
7 effectus, sed efficientia timor spectat. Nunc me putas de Stoicis dicere, qui existimant animam hominis magno pondere extriti permanere non posse et statim spargi, quia non fuerit illi exitus liber? Ego vero non facio; qui hoc dicunt, videntur mihi
8 errare. Quemadmodum flamma non potest obprimi,

[1] *ad tristia* Gruter; *ad* (*a*) *tristitiam*, or *ad tristiam* MSS.

[a] *Cf.* Hicks, *Stoic and Epicurean*, p. 61, on the doctrine of interpenetration, explaining the diffusion of soul throughout the body; and Rohde, *Psyche*, ii. 319, on the popular superstition that one who dies in a whirlwind has his soul snatched away by the wind-spirits. The doctrine referred to by Seneca is not, however, a purely Stoic doctrine.

he will change colour. For there are certain emotions, my dear Lucilius, which no courage can avoid; nature reminds courage how perishable a thing it is. And so he will contract his brow when the prospect is forbidding, will shudder at sudden apparitions, and will become dizzy when he stands at the edge of a high precipice and looks down. This is not fear; it is a natural feeling which reason cannot rout. That is why certain brave men, most willing to shed their own blood, cannot bear to see the blood of others. Some persons collapse and faint at the sight of a freshly inflicted wound; others are affected similarly on handling or viewing an old wound which is festering. And others meet the sword-stroke more readily than they see it dealt.

Accordingly, as I said, I experienced a certain transformation, though it could not be called confusion. Then at the first glimpse of restored daylight my good spirits returned without forethought or command. And I began to muse and think how foolish we are to fear certain objects to a greater or less degree, since all of them end in the same way. For what difference does it make whether a watch-tower or a mountain crashes down upon us? No difference at all, you will find. Nevertheless, there will be some men who fear the latter mishap to a greater degree, though both accidents are equally deadly; so true it is that fear looks not to the effect, but to the cause of the effect. Do you suppose that I am now referring to the Stoics,[a] who hold that the soul of a man crushed by a great weight cannot abide, and is scattered forthwith, because it has not had a free opportunity to depart? That is not what I am doing; those who think thus are, in my opinion, wrong. Just as fire cannot be crushed out, since it

nam circa id effugit, quo urgetur; quemadmodum aer verbere atque ictu non laeditur, ne scinditur quidem, sed circa id, cui cessit, refunditur; sic animus, qui ex tenuissimo constat, deprehendi non potest nec intra corpus effligi, sed beneficio subtilitatis suae per ipsa, quibus premitur, erumpit. Quomodo fulmini, etiam cum latissime percussit ac fulsit, per exiguum foramen est reditus, sic animo, qui adhuc tenuior est
9 igne, per omne corpus fuga est. Itaque de illo quaerendum est, an possit immortalis esse. Hoc quidem certum habe: si superstes est corpori, praeteri[1] illum nullo genere posse, propter quod non perit, quoniam nulla immortalitas cum exceptione est nec quicquam noxium aeterno est. VALE.

LVIII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Quanta verborum nobis paupertas, immo egestas sit, numquam magis quam hodierno die intellexi. Mille res inciderunt, cum forte de Platone loqueremur, quae nomina desiderarent nec haberent, quaedam vero, quae[2] cum habuissent, fastidio nostro perdidissent.
2 Quis autem ferat in egestate fastidium? Hunc quem

[1] *praeteri* Buecheler; *preter* p; *propter* VLPb; *proteri* Haupt.
[2] *quae* added by Hense, after Koch and G. Gemoll.

[a] For this belief compare Xenophon, *Mem.* iv. 3. 14, "No one sees the bolt either on its way down or on its way back." Seneca himself was much interested in lightning, *cf. N. Q.* ii. 40. 2.

[b] This theme was emphasized by Lucretius, i. 136 and 832, and iii. 260. Munro thinks, however, that "Lucretius had too much instead of too little technical language for a poet." Seneca knew Lucretius; *cf. Epp.* lviii. 12, xc. 11, etc.

will escape round the edges of the body which overwhelms it; just as the air cannot be damaged by lashes and blows, or even cut into, but flows back about the object to which it gives place; similarly the soul, which consists of the subtlest particles, cannot be arrested or destroyed inside the body, but, by virtue of its delicate substance, it will rather escape through the very object by which it is being crushed. Just as lightning, no matter how widely it strikes and flashes, makes its return through a narrow opening,[a] so the soul, which is still subtler than fire, has a way of escape through any part of the body. We therefore come to this question,—whether the soul can be immortal. But be sure of this: if the soul survives the body after the body is crushed, the soul can in no wise be crushed out, precisely because it does not perish; for the rule of immortality never admits of exceptions, and nothing can harm that which is everlasting. Farewell.

LVIII. ON BEING

How scant of words our language is, nay, how poverty-stricken, I have not fully understood until to-day. We happened to be speaking of Plato, and a thousand subjects came up for discussion, which needed names and yet possessed none; and there were certain others which once possessed, but have since lost, their words because we were too nice about their use. But who can endure to be nice in the midst of poverty?[b] There is an insect, called

Graeci oestron vocant pecora peragentem et totis saltibus dissipantem, asilum nostri vocabant. Hoc Vergilio licet credas:

> Est lucum Silari iuxta[1] ilicibusque virentem
> Plurimus Alburnum volitans, cui nomen asilo
> Romanum est, oestrum Grai vertere vocantes,
> Asper, acerba sonans, quo tota exterrita silvis
> Diffugiunt armenta.

3 Puto intellegi istud verbum interisse. Ne te longe differam, quaedam simplicia in usu erant, sicut "cernere ferro inter se" dicebant.[2] Idem Vergilius hoc probabit tibi:

> Ingentis genitos diversis partibus orbis
> Inter se coiisse viros et cernere ferro.

Quod nunc decernere dicimus. Simplicis illius verbi
4 usus amissus est. Dicebant antiqui "si iusso," id est iussero. Hoc nolo mihi credas, sed eidem[3] Vergilio:

> Cetera, qua iusso, mecum manus inferat arma.

5 Non id ago nunc hac diligentia, ut ostendam, quantum tempus apud grammaticum perdiderim, sed ut ex hoc intellegas, quantum apud Ennium et Accium verborum situs occupaverit, cum apud hunc quoque, qui cotidie excutitur, aliqua nobis subducta sint.

6 "Quid sibi," inquis, "ista praeparatio vult? Quo spectat?" Non celabo te; cupio, si fieri potest,

[1] for *lucum* and *iuxta* Vergil MSS. give *lucos* and *circa*.
[2] *dicebant* Mentel; *dicebantur* MSS.
[3] *eidem* Haase; *fidem* MSS.

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[a] The gad-fly.
[b] *Georgics*, iii. 146 ff.
[c] *Aeneid*, xii. 708 f.
[d] *Aeneid*, xi. 467.

by the Greeks *oestrus*,[a] which drives cattle wild and scatters them all over their pasturing grounds; it used to be called *asilus* in our language, as you may believe on the authority of Vergil:—

> Near Silarus' groves, and eke Alburnus' shades
> Of green-clad oak-trees flits an insect, named
> *Asilus* by the Romans; in the Greek
> The word is rendered *oestrus*. With a rough
> And strident sound it buzzes and drives wild
> The terror-stricken herds throughout the woods.[b]

By which I infer that the word has gone out of use. And, not to keep you waiting too long, there were certain uncompounded words current, like *cernere ferro inter se*, as will be proved again by Vergil:—

> Great heroes, born in various lands, had come
> To *settle matters* mutually with the sword.[c]

This "settling matters" we now express by *decernere*. The uncompounded word has become obsolete. The ancients used to say *iusso*, instead of *iussero*, in conditional clauses. You need not take my word, but you may turn again to Vergil:—

> The other soldiers shall conduct the fight
> With me, where I *shall bid*.[d]

It is not my purpose to show, by this array of examples, how much time I have wasted on the study of language; I merely wish you to understand how many words, that were current in the works of Ennius and Accius, have become mouldy with age; while even in the case of Vergil, whose works are explored daily, some of his words have been filched away from us.

You will say, I suppose: "What is the purpose and meaning of this preamble?" I shall not keep

propitiis auribus tuis "essentiam"[1] dicere; si minus, dicam et iratis. Ciceronem auctorem huius verbi habeo, puto locupletem. Si recentiorem quaeris, Fabianum, disertum et elegantem, orationis etiam ad nostrum fastidium nitidae. Quid enim fiet, mi Lucili? Quomodo dicetur *οὐσία* res necessaria, natura continens fundamentum omnium? Rogo itaque permittas mihi hoc verbo uti. Nihilominus dabo operam, ut ius a te datum parcissime exerceam;
7 fortasse contentus ero mihi licere. Quid proderit facilitas tua, cum ecce id nullo modo Latine exprimere possim, propter quod linguae nostrae convicium feci? Magis damnabis angustias Romanas, si scieris unam syllabam esse, quam mutare non possum. Quae sit haec, quaeris? Τὸ ὄν. Duri tibi videor ingenii; in medio positum,[2] posse sic transferri, ut dicam "quod est." Sed multum interesse video; cogor verbum
8 pro vocabulo ponere. Sed si ita necesse est, ponam "quod est." Sex modis hoc a Platone dici amicus noster, homo eruditissimus, hodierno die dicebat. Omnes tibi exponam, si ante indicavero esse aliquid genus, esse et speciem.

[1] *essentiam* Muretus; *quid sentiam* MSS.
[2] *positum* Muretus; *positam* MSS.

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[a] Cicero usually says *natura*. The word, according to Quintilian, was first used by a certain Sergius Flavus. It is also found in Apuleius, Macrobius, and Sidonius.

[b] See *Ep.* c. Papirius Fabianus, who lived in the times of Tiberius and Caligula, was a pupil of the Sextius of *Ep.* lix., and was (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 15. 24) *naturae rerum peritissimus.* He is praised by the elder Seneca (*Cont.* 2. *Praef.*) who, however, says of him *deerat robur—splendor aderat.*

[c] *i.e.*, I must use other imported words to explain *essentia*, which is not a native Latin word, but invented as a literal translation of *οὐσία*.

[d] *cf.* § 16.

you in the dark; I desire, if possible, to say the word *essentia* to you and obtain a favourable hearing. If I cannot do this, I shall risk it even though it put you out of humour. I have Cicero[a] as authority for the use of this word, and I regard him as a powerful authority. If you desire testimony of a later date, I shall cite Fabianus,[b] careful of speech, cultivated, and so polished in style that he will suit even our nice tastes. For what can we do, my dear Lucilius? How otherwise can we find a word for that which the Greeks call *οὐσία*, something that is indispensable, something that is the natural substratum of everything? I beg you accordingly to allow me to use this word *essentia*. I shall nevertheless take pains to exercise the privilege, which you have granted me, with as sparing a hand as possible; perhaps I shall be content with the mere right. Yet what good will your indulgence do me, if, lo and behold, I can in no wise express in Latin[c] the meaning of the word which gave me the opportunity to rail at the poverty of our language? And you will condemn our narrow Roman limits even more, when you find out that there is a word of one syllable which I cannot translate. "What is this?" you ask. It is the word *ὄν*. You think me lacking in facility; you believe that the word is ready to hand, that it might be translated by *quod est*. I notice, however, a great difference; you are forcing me to render a noun by a verb. But if I must do so, I shall render it by *quod est*. There are six ways[d] in which Plato expresses this idea, according to a friend of ours, a man of great learning, who mentioned the fact to-day. And I shall explain all of them to you, if I may first point out that there is something called *genus* and something called *species*.

Nunc autem primum illud genus quaerimus, ex quo ceterae species suspensae sunt, a quo nascitur omnis divisio, quo universa conprensa sunt. Invenietur autem, si coeperimus singula retro legere; sic
9 enim perducemur ad primum. Homo species est, ut Aristoteles ait; equus species est; canis species est; ergo commune aliquod quaerendum est his omnibus vinculum, quod illa conplectatur et sub se habeat. Hoc quid est? Animal. Ergo genus esse coepit horum omnium, quae modo rettuli, hominis,
10 equi, canis, animal. Sed quaedam [1] animam habent nec sunt animalia. Placet enim satis et arbustis animam inesse. Itaque et vivere illa et mori dicimus. Ergo animantia superiorem tenebunt locum, quia et animalia in hac forma sunt et sata. Sed quaedam anima carent, ut saxa. Itaque erit aliquid animantibus [2] antiquius, corpus scilicet. Hoc sic dividam, ut dicam corpora omnia aut animantia esse aut inanima.
11 Etiamnunc est aliquid superius quam corpus. Dicimus enim quaedam corporalia esse, quaedam incorporalia. Quid ergo erit, ex quo haec deducantur? Illud, cui nomen modo parum proprium inposuimus, "quod est." Sic enim in species secabitur, ut dicamus: "quod est" aut corporale est aut incorporale.

12 Hoc ergo est genus primum et antiquissimum et, ut ita dicam, generale. Cetera genera quidem sunt,

[1] *quaedam* later MSS.; *quaedam quae* pLVPb.
[2] Hense conjectures *et animantibus*.

[a] *Categories* 2 b 11 and often.

For the present, however, we are seeking the primary idea of *genus*, on which the others, the different *species*, depend, which is the source of all classification, the term under which universal ideas are embraced. And the idea of *genus* will be reached if we begin to reckon back from particulars; for in this way we shall be conducted back to the primary notion. Now "man" is a *species*, as Aristotle [a] says; so is "horse," or "dog." We must therefore discover some common bond for all these terms, one which embraces them and holds them subordinate to itself. And what is this? It is "animal." And so there begins to be a *genus* "animal," including all these terms, "man," "horse," and "dog." But there are certain things which have life (*anima*) and yet are not "animals." For it is agreed that plants and trees possess life, and that is why we speak of them as living and dying. Therefore the term "living things" will occupy a still higher place, because both animals and plants are included in this category. Certain objects, however, lack life,—such as rocks. There will therefore be another term to take precedence over "living things," and that is "substance." I shall classify "substance" by saying that all substances are either animate or inanimate. But there is still something superior to "substance"; for we speak of certain things as possessing substance, and certain things as lacking substance. What, then, will be the term from which these things are derived? It is that to which we lately gave an inappropriate name, "that which exists." For by using this term they will be divided into *species*, so that we can say: that which exists either possesses, or lacks, substance.

This, therefore, is what *genus* is,— the primary, original, and (to play upon the word) "general."

sed specialia. Tamquam homo genus est. Habet enim in se nationum species: Graecos, Romanos, Parthos. Colorum: albos, nigros, flavos. Habet singulos: Catonem, Ciceronem, Lucretium. Ita qua multa continet, in genus cadit; qua sub alio est, in speciem. Illud genus "quod est" generale, supra se nihil habet; initium rerum est; omnia sub illo sunt.

13 Stoici volunt superponere huic etiamnunc aliud genus magis principale; de quo statim dicam, si prius illud genus, de quo locutus sum, merito primum poni

14 docuero, cum sit rerum omnium capax. "Quod est" in has species divido, ut sint corporalia aut incorporalia. Nihil tertium est. Corpus quomodo divido? Ut dicam: aut animantia sunt aut inanima. Rursus animantia quemadmodum divido? Ut dicam: quaedam animum habent, quaedam tantum animam. Aut sic: quaedam inpetum habent, incedunt, transeunt, quaedam solo adfixa radicibus aluntur, crescunt.[1] Rursus animalia in quas species seco? Aut mortalia sunt aut

15 inmortalia. Primum genus Stoicis quibusdam videtur "quid." Quare videatur, subiciam: "In rerum," inquiunt, "natura quaedam sunt, quaedam non sunt. Et haec autem, quae non sunt, rerum natura con-

[1] Buecheler would add *decrescunt*, Hense *arescunt* ("wither").

[a] *i.e.*, the *genus* beyond "that which exists."

Of course there are the other *genera*: but they are "special" *genera*: "man" being, for example, a *genus*. For "man" comprises species: by nations,—Greek, Roman, Parthian; by colours,—white, black, yellow. The term comprises individuals also: Cato, Cicero, Lucretius. So "man" falls into the category *genus*, in so far as it includes many kinds; but in so far as it is subordinate to another term, it falls into the category *species*. But the *genus* "that which exists" is general, and has no term superior to it. It is the first term in the classification of things, and all things are included under it.

The Stoics would set ahead of this still another *genus*, even more primary; concerning which I shall immediately speak, after proving that the *genus* which has been discussed above, has rightly been placed first, being, as it is, capable of including everything. I therefore distribute "that which exists" into these two species,—things with, and things without, substance. There is no third class. And how do I distribute "substance"? By saying that it is either animate or inanimate. And how do I distribute the "animate"? By saying: "Certain things have mind, while others have only life." Or the idea may be expressed as follows: "Certain things have the power of movement, of progress, of change of position, while others are rooted in the ground; they are fed and they grow only through their roots." Again, into what species do I divide "animals"? They are either perishable or imperishable. Certain of the Stoics regard the primary *genus* [a] as the "something." I shall add the reasons they give for their belief; they say: "in the order of nature some things exist, and other things do not exist. And even the things that do not exist are really part of the order of

plectitur, quae animo succurrunt, tamquam Centauri, Gigantes et quicquid aliud falsa cogitatione formatum habere aliquam imaginem coepit, quamvis non habeat substantiam."

16 Nunc ad id, quod tibi promisi, revertor, quomodo quaecumque sunt, in sex modos Plato partiatur. Primum illud "quod est" nec visu nec tactu nec ullo sensu conprenditur; cogitabile est. Quod generaliter est, tamquam homo generalis, sub oculos non venit; sed specialis venit, ut Cicero et Cato. Animal non videtur; cogitatur. Videtur autem species eius, equus et canis.

17 Secundum ex his, quae sunt, ponit Plato quod eminet et exsuperat omnia. Hoc ait per excellentiam esse. Poeta communiter dicitur, omnibus enim versus facientibus hoc nomen est, sed iam apud Graecos in unius notam cessit; Homerum intellegas, cum audieris poetam. Quid ergo hoc est? Deus scilicet, maior ac potentior cunctis.

18 Tertium genus est eorum, quae proprie sunt; innumerabilia haec sunt, sed extra nostrum posita conspectum. Quae sint, interrogas. Propria Platonis supellex est; ideas vocat, ex quibus omnia, quaecumque videmus, fiunt et ad quas cuncta formantur.

[a] *Cf.* § 8. Plato's usual division was threefold,—*αἰσθητά, μαθηματικά, εἴδη* (*sensibilia, mathematica,* and *ideae*),—a division which is often quoted by Aristotle.

[b] Εἶναι κατ' ἐξοχήν. After illustrating the poet κατ' ἐξοχήν, Homer, he passes to τὸ ὂν κατ' ἐξοχήν, God.

[c] Ὄντως τὰ ὄντα. "Each idea is a single, independent, separate, self-existing, perfect, and eternal essence"; Adam, *The Republic of Plato*, ii. 169. See Zeller's *Plato* (p. 237) for a list of Greek words used by Plato to indicate the reality of these ideas.

nature. What these are will readily occur to the mind, for example centaurs, giants, and all other figments of unsound reasoning, which have begun to have a definite shape, although they have no bodily consistency."

But I now return to the subject which I promised to discuss for you, namely, how it is that Plato[a] divides all existing things in six different ways. The first class of "that which exists" cannot be grasped by the sight or by the touch, or by any of the senses; but it can be grasped by the thought. Any generic conception, such as the generic idea "man," does not come within the range of the eyes; but "man" in particular does; as, for example, Cicero, Cato. The term "animal" is not seen; it is grasped by thought alone. A particular animal, however, is seen, for example, a horse, a dog.

The second class of "things which exist," according to Plato, is that which is prominent and stands out above everything else; this, he says, exists in a pre-eminent degree.[b] The word "poet" is used indiscriminately, for this term is applied to all writers of verse; but among the Greeks it has come to be the distinguishing mark of a single individual. You know that Homer is meant when you hear men say "the poet." What, then, is this pre-eminent Being? God, surely, one who is greater and more powerful than anyone else.

The third class is made up of those things which exist in the proper sense of the term[c]; they are countless in number, but are situated beyond our sight. "What are these?" you ask. They are Plato's own furniture, so to speak; he calls them "ideas," and from them all visible things are created, and according to their pattern all things are fashioned.

19 Hae inmortales, inmutabiles, inviolabiles sunt. Quid sit idea, id est, quid Platoni esse videatur, audi: "Idea est eorum, quae natura fiunt, exemplar aeternum." Adiciam definitioni interpretationem, quo tibi res apertior fiat: volo imaginem tuam facere. Exemplar picturae te habeo, ex quo capit aliquem habitum mens nostra, quem operi suo inponat. Ita illa, quae me docet et instruit facies, a qua petitur imitatio, idea est. Talia ergo exemplaria infinita habet rerum natura, hominum, piscium, arborum, ad quae quodcumque fieri ab illa debet, exprimitur.

20 Quartum locum habebit idos. Quid sit hoc idos, attendas oportet et Platoni inputes, non mihi, hanc rerum difficultatem. Nulla est autem sine difficultate subtilitas. Paulo ante pictoris imagine utebar. Ille cum reddere Vergilium coloribus vellet, ipsum intuebatur. Idea erat Vergilii facies, futuri operis exemplar. Ex hac quod artifex trahit[1] et operi suo inposuit, idos
21 est. Quid intersit, quaeris? Alterum exemplar est, alterum forma ab exemplari sumpta et operi inposita. Alteram artifex imitatur, alteram facit. Habet aliquam faciem statua; haec est idos. Habet aliquam faciem exemplar ipsum, quod intuens opifex statuam figu-

[1] G. Gemoll prefers *traxit*.

[a] *Cf.*, for example, *Parmenides* 132 D. What follows is not a direct quotation, and the same thought is found elsewhere.

[b] Εἶδος.

[c] *i.e.*, the "original."

They are immortal, unchangeable, inviolable. And this "idea," or rather, Plato's conception of it,[a] is as follows: "The 'idea' is the everlasting pattern of those things which are created by nature." I shall explain this definition, in order to set the subject before you in a clearer light: Suppose that I wish to make a likeness of you; I possess in your own person the pattern of this picture, wherefrom my mind receives a certain outline, which it is to embody in its own handiwork. That outward appearance, then, which gives me instruction and guidance, this pattern for me to imitate, is the "idea." Such patterns, therefore, nature possesses in infinite number,—of men, fish, trees, according to whose model everything that nature has to create is worked out.

In the fourth place we shall put "form."[b] And if you would know what "form" means, you must pay close attention, calling Plato, and not me, to account for the difficulty of the subject. However, we cannot make fine distinctions without encountering difficulties. A moment ago I made use of the artist as an illustration. When the artist desired to reproduce Vergil in colours he would gaze upon Vergil himself. The "idea" was Vergil's outward appearance, and this was the pattern of the intended work. That which the artist draws from this "idea" and has embodied in his own work, is the "form." Do you ask me where the difference lies? The former is the pattern; while the latter is the shape taken from the pattern and embodied in the work. Our artist follows the one, but the other he creates. A statue has a certain external appearance; this external appearance of the statue is the "form." And the pattern[c] itself has a certain external appearance, by gazing upon which the sculptor has fashioned his statue; this

ravit; haec idea est. Etiamnunc si aliam desideras distinctionem, idos in opere est, idea extra opus nec tantum extra opus est, sed ante opus.

22 Quintum genus est eorum, quae communiter sunt; haec incipiunt ad nos pertinere; hic sunt omnia, homines, pecora, res. Sextum genus eorum, quae quasi sunt: tamquam inane, tamquam tempus.

Quaecumque videmus aut tangimus, Plato in illis non numerat, quae esse proprie putat. Fluunt enim et in assidua deminutione atque adiectione sunt. Nemo nostrum idem est in senectute, qui fuit iuvenis; nemo nostrum est idem mane, qui fuit pridie. Corpora nostra rapiuntur fluminum more. Quicquid vides, currit cum tempore. Nihil ex iis, quae videmus, manet. Ego ipse, dum loquor mutari ista, mutatus
23 sum. Hoc est, quod ait Heraclitus: "In idem flumen bis descendimus et non descendimus." Manet enim idem fluminis nomen, aqua transmissa est. Hoc in amne manifestius est quam in homine. Sed nos quoque non minus velox cursus praetervehit, et ideo admiror dementiam nostram, quod tantopere amamus rem fugacissimam, corpus, timemusque, ne quando moriamur, cum omne momentum mors prioris habitus sit. Vis tu non timere, ne semel fiat, quod cotidie
24 fit! De homine dixi, fluvida materia et caduca et omnibus obnoxia causis; mundus quoque, aeterna res

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[a] *i.e.*, *κυρίως ὄντα*. See above, p. 396.

[b] Frag. 49[a] Diels[2] *ποταμοῖς τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐμβαίνομέν τε καὶ οὐκ ἐμβαίνομεν, εἶμέν τε καὶ οὐκ εἶμεν.*

[c] This idea Seneca has already developed in *Ep.* xxiv. 20.

is the "idea." If you desire a further distinction, I will say that the "form" is in the artist's work, the "idea" outside his work, and not only outside it, but prior to it.

The fifth class is made up of the things which exist in the usual sense of the term. These things are the first that have to do with us; here we have all such things as men, cattle, and things. In the sixth class goes all that which has a fictitious existence, like void, or time.

Whatever is concrete to the sight or touch, Plato does not include among the things which he believes to be existent in the strict sense of the term.[a] For they are in a state of flux, constantly diminishing or increasing. None of us is the same man in old age that he was in youth; nor the same on the morrow as on the day preceding. Our bodies are hurried along like flowing waters; every visible object accompanies time in its flight; of the things which we see, nothing is fixed. Even I myself, as I comment on this change, am changed myself. This is just what Heraclitus[b] says: "We go down twice into the same river, and yet into a different river." For the stream still keeps the same name, but the water has already flowed past. Of course this is much more evident in rivers than in human beings. Still, we mortals are also carried past in no less speedy a course; and this prompts me to marvel at our madness in cleaving with great affection to such a fleeting thing as the body, and in fearing lest some day we may die, when every instant means the death of our previous condition.[c] Will you not stop fearing lest that may happen once which really happens every day? So much for man,—a substance that flows away and falls, exposed to every influence; but the universe,

et invicta, mutatur nec idem manet. Quamvis enim omnia in se habeat, quae habuit, aliter habet quam
25 habuit; ordinem mutat.

"Quid ista," inquis, "mihi subtilitas proderit?" Si me interrogas, nihil. Sed quemadmodum ille caelator oculos diu intentos ac fatigatos remittit atque avocat et, ut dici solet, pascit; sic nos animum aliquando debemus relaxare et quibusdam oblectamentis reficere. Sed ipsa oblectamenta opera sint. Ex his quoque, si observaveris, sumes, quod
26 possit fieri salutare. Hoc ego, Lucili, facere soleo: ex omni notione,[1] etiam si a philosophia longissime aversa est, eruere aliquid conor et utile efficere. Quid istis, quae modo tractavimus, remotius[2] a reformatione morum? Quomodo meliorem me facere ideae Platonicae possunt? Quid ex istis traham, quod cupiditates meas conprimat? Vel hoc ipsum, quod omnia ista, quae sensibus serviunt, quae nos accendunt et inritant, negat Plato ex his esse,
27 quae vere sint. Ergo ista imaginaria sunt et ad tempus aliquam faciem ferunt, nihil horum stabile nec solidum est; et nos tamen cupimus, tamquam aut semper futura aut semper habituri.

Inbecilli fluvidique inter vana constitimus[3]; ad

[1] *notione* (corr. from *natione*) P; *natione* pLb; *ratione* V; *oratione* later MSS.
[2] *remotius* Madvig; *remotis* MSS.
[3] *inter vana constitimus* Gertz; *inter valla* (or *intervalla*) *constituimus* MSS.

too, immortal and enduring as it is, changes and never remains the same. For though it has within itself all that it has had, it has it in a different way from that in which it has had it; it keeps changing its arrangement.

"Very well," say you, "what good shall I get from all this fine reasoning?" None, if you wish me to answer your question. Nevertheless, just as an engraver rests his eyes when they have long been under a strain and are weary, and calls them from their work, and "feasts" them, as the saying is; so we at times should slacken our minds and refresh them with some sort of entertainment. But let even your entertainment be work; and even from these various forms of entertainment you will select, if you have been watchful, something that may prove wholesome. That is my habit, Lucilius: I try to extract and render useful some element from every field of thought, no matter how far removed it may be from philosophy. Now what could be less likely to reform character than the subjects which we have been discussing? And how can I be made a better men by the "ideas" of Plato? What can I draw from them that will put a check on my appetites? Perhaps the very thought, that all these things which minister to our senses, which arouse and excite us, are by Plato denied a place among the things that really exist. Such things are therefore imaginary, and though they for the moment present a certain external appearance, yet they are in no case permanent or substantial; none the less, we crave them as if they were always to exist, or as if we were always to possess them.

We are weak, watery beings standing in the midst of unrealities; therefore let us turn our minds to the

Turn to the everlasting

illa mittamus animum, quae aeterna sunt. Miremur in sublimi volitantes rerum omnium formas deumque inter illa versantem et hoc providentem, quemadmodum quae inmortalia facere non potuit, quia materia prohibebat, defendat a morte ac ratione
28 vitium corporis vincat. Manent enim cuncta, non quia aeterna sunt, sed quia defenduntur cura regentis; inmortalia tutore non egerent. Haec conservat artifex fragilitatem materiae vi sua vincens. Contemnamus omnia, quae adeo pretiosa non sunt, ut
29 an sint omnino, dubium sit. Illud simul cogitemus, si mundum ipsum, non minus mortalem quam nos sumus, providentia periculis eximit, posse aliquatenus nostra quoque providentia longiorem prorogari[1] huic corpusculo moram, si voluptates, quibus pars maior
30 perit, potuerimus regere et coercere. Plato ipse ad senectutem se diligentia protulit. Erat quidem corpus validum ac forte sortitus et illi nomen latitudo pectoris fecerat, sed navigationes ac pericula multum detraxerant viribus; parsimonia tamen et eorum, quae aviditatem evocant, modus et diligens sui tutela perduxit illum ad senectutem multis prohibentibus
31 causis. Nam hoc scis, puto, Platoni diligentiae suae beneficio contigisse, quod natali suo decessit et annum unum atque octogensimum inplevit sine ulla deductione. Ideo magi, qui forte Athenis erant,

[1] Perhaps we ought to read, with Rossbach, *nos nostra quoque providentia longiorem prorogare.* O and b give *prorogare.*

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[a] Diogenes Laertius, iii. 1, who records also other explanations of the name Plato, which replaced the given name Aristocles.

things that are everlasting. Let us look up to the ideal outlines of all things, that flit about on high, and to the God who moves among them and plans how he may defend from death that which he could not make imperishable because its substance forbade, and so by reason may overcome the defects of the body. For all things abide, not because they are everlasting, but because they are protected by the care of him who governs all things; but that which was imperishable would need no guardian. The Master Builder keeps them safe, overcoming the weakness of their fabric by his own power. Let us despise everything that is so little an object of value that it makes us doubt whether it exists at all. Let us at the same time reflect, seeing that Providence rescues from its perils the world itself, which is no less mortal than we ourselves, that to some extent our petty bodies can be made to tarry longer upon earth by our own providence, if only we acquire the ability to control and check those pleasures whereby the greater portion of mankind perishes. Plato himself, by taking pains, advanced to old age. To be sure, he was the fortunate possessor of a strong and sound body (his very name was given him because of his broad chest[a]); but his strength was much impaired by sea voyages and desperate adventures. Nevertheless, by frugal living, by setting a limit upon all that rouses the appetites, and by painstaking attention to himself, he reached that advanced age in spite of many hindrances. You know, I am sure, that Plato had the good fortune, thanks to his careful living, to die on his birthday, after exactly completing his eighty-first year. For this reason wise men of the East, who happened to be in Athens at that time, sacrificed to

inmolaverunt defuncto, amplioris fuisse sortis quam humanae rati, quia consummasset perfectissimum numerum, quem novem novies multiplicata conponunt. Non dubito, quin paratus sit et[1] paucos dies ex ista summa et sacrificium remittere.

32 Potest frugalitas producere senectutem, quam ut non puto concupiscendam, ita ne recusandam quidem. Iucundum est secum esse quam diutissime, cum quis se dignum, quo frueretur, effecit. Itaque de isto feremus sententiam, an oporteat fastidire senectutis extrema et finem non opperiri, sed manu facere. Prope est a timente, qui fatum segnis expectat, sicut ille ultra modum deditus vino est, qui amphoram
33 exiccat et faecem quoque exorbet. De hoc tamen quaeremus, pars summa vitae utrum[2] faex sit an liquidissimum ac purissimum quiddam, si modo mens sine iniuria est et integri sensus animum iuvant nec defectum et praemortuum corpus est. Plurimum
34 enim refert, vitam aliquis extendat an mortem. At si inutile ministeriis corpus est, quidni oporteat educere animum laborantem? Et fortasse paulo ante quam debet, faciendum est, ne cum fieri debebit, facere non possis. Et cum maius periculum sit male vivendi quam cito moriendi, stultus est, qui non exigua temporis mercede magnae rei aleam redimit.

Paucos longissima senectus ad mortem sine iniuria pertulit, multis iners vita sine usu sui iacuit; quanto

[1] The reading *paratus sit et* is nearest to Madvig's *paratus sis et*; *par laus sit* Buecheler; *parat auset* p, *parat ausisset* L; *parata xusset* V[1]; *paratus esset* O; *parat avisset* b. Haupt conj. *paratus et.*

[2] After *utrum* Haase removed *ea*, the reading of MSS.

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[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Phaedo*, 114 D καὶ ἄξιον κινδυνεῦσαι, οἰομένῳ οὕτως ἔχειν· καλὸς γὰρ ὁ κίνδυνος, the "chance" being immortality.

him after his death, believing that his length of days was too full for a mortal man, since he had rounded out the perfect number of nine times nine. I do not doubt that he would have been quite willing to forgo a few days from this total, as well as the sacrifice.

Frugal living can bring one to old age; and to my mind old age is not to be refused any more than it is to be craved. There is a pleasure in being in one's own company as long as possible, when a man has made himself worth enjoying. The question, therefore, on which we have to record our judgment is, whether one should shrink from extreme old age and should hasten the end artificially, instead of waiting for it to come. A man who sluggishly awaits his fate is almost a coward, just as he is immoderately given to wine who drains the jar dry and sucks up even the dregs. But we shall ask this question also: "Is the extremity of life the dregs, or is it the clearest and purest part of all, provided only that the mind is unimpaired, and the senses, still sound, give their support to the spirit, and the body is not worn out and dead before its time?" For it makes a great deal of difference whether a man is lengthening his life or his death. But if the body is useless for service, why should one not free the struggling soul? Perhaps one ought to do this a little before the debt is due, lest, when it falls due, he may be unable to perform the act. And since the danger of living in wretchedness is greater than the danger of dying soon, he is a fool who refuses to stake a little time and win a hazard of great gain.[a]

Few have lasted through extreme old age to death without impairment, and many have lain inert, making no use of themselves. How much more

deinde crudelius iudicas aliquid ex vita perdidisse
35 quam ius[1] finiendae? Noli me invitus audire, tamquam ad te iam pertineat ista sententia, et quid dicam aestima: non relinquam senectutem, si me totum mihi reservabit, totum autem ab illa parte meliore; at si coeperit concutere mentem, si partes eius convellere, si mihi non vitam reliquerit, sed animam, prosiliam ex aedificio putri ac ruenti.
36 Morbum morte non fugiam, dumtaxat sanabilem nec officientem animo. Non adferam mihi manus propter dolorem; sic mori vinci est. Hunc tamen si sciero perpetuo mihi esse patiendum, exibo, non propter ipsum, sed quia inpedimento mihi futurus est ad omne, propter quod vivitur. Inbecillus est et ignavus, qui propter dolorem moritur, stultus, qui doloris causa vivit.

37 Sed in longum exeo. Est praeterea materia, quae ducere diem possit. Et quomodo finem imponere vitae poterit, qui epistulae non potest? Vale ergo. Quod libentius quam mortes meras lecturus es. VALE.

LIX.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Magnam ex epistula tua percepi voluptatem; permitte enim mihi uti verbis publicis nec illa ad significationem Stoicam revoca. Vitium esse voluptatem credimus. Sit sane; ponere tamen illam solemus ad

[1] *quam ius* Madvig; *quamius* p; *quamvis* LVPb.

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[a] Since *vale* means "keep well" no less than "good-bye."

cruel, then, do you suppose it really is to have lost a portion of your life, than to have lost your right to end that life? Do not hear me with reluctance, as if my statement applied directly to you, but weigh what I have to say. It is this: that I shall not abandon old age, if old age preserves me intact for myself, and intact as regards the better part of myself; but if old age begins to shatter my mind, and to pull its various faculties to pieces, if it leaves me, not life, but only the breath of life, I shall rush out of a house that is crumbling and tottering. I shall not avoid illness by seeking death, as long as the illness is curable and does not impede my soul. I shall not lay violent hands upon myself just because I am in pain; for death under such circumstances is defeat. But if I find out that the pain must always be endured, I shall depart, not because of the pain, but because it will be a hindrance to me as regards all my reasons for living. He who dies just because he is in pain is a weakling, a coward; but he who lives merely to brave out this pain, is a fool.

But I am running on too long; and, besides, there is matter here to fill a day. And how can a man end his life, if he cannot end a letter? So farewell. This last word[a] you will read with greater pleasure than all my deadly talk about death. Farewell.

LIX. ON PLEASURE AND JOY

I received great pleasure from your letter; kindly allow me to use these words in their everyday meaning, without insisting upon their Stoic import. For we Stoics hold that pleasure is a vice. Very likely it is a vice; but we are accustomed to use

2 demonstrandam animi hilarem adfectionem. Scio, inquam, et voluptatem, si ad nostrum album[1] verba derigimus, rem infamem esse et gaudium nisi sapienti non contingere. Est enim animi elatio suis bonis verisque fidentis. Vulgo tamen sic loquimur, ut dicamus magnum gaudium nos ex illius consulatu aut nuptiis aut ex partu uxoris percepisse, quae adeo non sunt gaudia, ut saepe initia futurae tristitiae sint. Gaudio autem iunctum est non desinere nec in contrarium verti.

3 Itaque cum dicit Vergilius noster

Et mala mentis gaudia,

diserte quidem dicit, sed parum proprie. Nullum enim malum gaudium est. Voluptatibus hoc nomen inposuit et quod voluit expressit. Significavit enim
4 homines malo suo laetos. Tamen ego non inmerito dixeram cepisse me magnam ex epistula tua voluptatem; quamvis enim ex honesta[2] causa inperitus homo gaudeat, tamen adfectum eius inpotentem et in diversum statim inclinaturum voluptatem voco, opinione falsi boni motam, inmoderatam et inmodicam.

Sed ut ad propositum revertar, audi, quid me in epistula tua delectaverit: habes verba in potestate. Non effert te oratio nec longius quam destinasti
5 trahit. Multi sunt, qui ad id, quod non proposuerant

[1] *album* R. Agricola; *aluum* or *alium* MSS.
[2] *honesta* Lipsius; *homine ista* MSS.; *non inhonesta* O. Rossbach.

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[a] A figure taken from the praetor's edict, which was posted publicly on a white tablet, *album*.
[b] *i.e.*, grief. [c] *Aeneid*, vi. 278.
[d] The wise man, on the other hand, has his emotions under control, and is less likely to be swayed by "an opinion concerning a spurious good."

the word when we wish to indicate a happy state of mind. I am aware that if we test words by our formula,[a] even pleasure is a thing of ill repute, and joy can be attained only by the wise. For "joy" is an elation of spirit,—of a spirit which trusts in the goodness and truth of its own possessions. The common usage, however, is that we derive great "joy" from a friend's position as consul, or from his marriage, or from the birth of his child; but these events, so far from being matters of joy, are more often the beginnings of sorrow to come. No, it is a characteristic of real joy that it never ceases, and never changes into its opposite.[b]

Accordingly, when our Vergil speaks of

> The evil joys of the mind,[c]

his words are eloquent, but not strictly appropriate. For no "joy" can be evil. He has given the name "joy" to pleasures, and has thus expressed his meaning. For he has conveyed the idea that men take delight in their own evil. Nevertheless, I was not wrong in saying that I received great "pleasure" from your letter; for although an ignorant[d] man may derive "joy" if the cause be an honourable one, yet, since his emotion is wayward, and is likely soon to take another direction, I call it "pleasure"; for it is inspired by an opinion concerning a spurious good; it exceeds control and is carried to excess.

But, to return to the subject, let me tell you what delighted me in your letter. You have your words under control. You are not carried away by your language, or borne beyond the limits which you have determined upon. Many writers are tempted by the charm of some alluring phrase to some topic

scribere, alicuius verbi placentis decore vocentur, quod tibi non evenit; pressa sunt omnia et rei aptata. Loqueris quantum vis et plus significas quam loqueris. Hoc maioris rei indicium est; apparet animum quoque nihil habere supervacui, nihil tumidi.

6 Invenio tamen translationes verborum ut non temerarias ita quae periculum sui fecerint. Invenio imagines, quibus si quis nos uti vetat et poetis illas solis iudicat esse concessas, neminem mihi videtur ex antiquis legisse, apud quos nondum captabatur plausibilis oratio. Illi, qui simpliciter et demonstrandae rei causa eloquebantur, parabolis referti sunt, quas existimo necessarias, non ex eadem causa qua poetis, sed ut inbecillitatis nostrae adminicula sint, ut et dicentem et audientem in rem praesentem

7 adducant. Sextium ecce cum maxime lego, virum acrem, Graecis verbis, Romanis moribus philosophantem. Movit me imago ab illo posita: ire quadrato agmine exercitum, ubi hostis ab omni parte suspectus est, pugnae paratum; "Idem," inquit, "sapiens facere debet; omnes virtutes suas undique expandat, ut ubicumque infesti aliquid orietur, illic parata praesidia sint et ad nutum regentis sine tumultu respondeant." Quod in exercitibus iis,

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[a] *i.e.*, in spite of the fact that your style is compact.

[b] Q. Sextius was a Stoic with Pythagorean leanings, who lived in the days of Julius Caesar. He is also mentioned in *Epp.* lxiv. and lxxiii. A book of moral *Sententiae*, taken over by the Church, is assigned to him, perhaps wrongly.

[c] *Agmen quadratum* was an army in a square formation, with baggage in the middle, ready for battle,—as contrasted with *agmen iustum* (close ranks), and *acies triplex* (a stationary formation, almost rectangular). *Agmen quadratum* is first found in the Spanish campaigns of the second century B.C.

other than that which they had set themselves to discuss. But this has not been so in your case; all your words are compact, and suited to the subject. You say all that you wish, and you mean still more than you say. This is a proof of the importance of your subject matter, showing that your mind, as well as your words, contains nothing superfluous or bombastic.

I do, however,[a] find some metaphors, not, indeed, daring ones, but the kind which have stood the test of use. I find similes also; of course, if anyone forbids us to use them, maintaining that poets alone have that privilege, he has not, apparently, read any of our ancient prose writers, who had not yet learned to affect a style that should win applause. For those writers, whose eloquence was simple and directed only towards proving their case, are full of comparisons; and I think that these are necessary, not for the same reason which makes them necessary for the poets, but in order that they may serve as props to our feebleness, to bring both speaker and listener face to face with the subject under discussion. For example, I am at this very moment reading Sextius[b]; he is a keen man, and a philosopher who, though he writes in Greek, has the Roman standard of ethics. One of his similes appealed especially to me, that of an army marching in hollow square,[c] in a place where the enemy might be expected to appear from any quarter, ready for battle. "This," said he, "is just what the wise man ought to do; he should have all his fighting qualities deployed on every side, so that wherever the attack threatens, there his supports may be ready to hand and may obey the captain's command without confusion." This is what we notice in armies which serve

quos imperatores magni ordinant, fieri videmus, ut imperium ducis simul omnes copiae sentiant, sic dispositae, ut signum ab uno datum peditem simul equitemque percurrat; hoc aliquanto magis neces-
8 sarium esse nobis ait. Illi enim saepe hostem timuere sine causa, tutissimumque illis iter quod suspectissimum fuit; nihil stultitia pacatum habet. Tam superne illi metus est quam infra. Utrumque trepidat latus. Secuntur pericula et occurrunt. Ad omnia pavet, inparata est et ipsis terretur auxiliis. Sapiens autem ad omnem incursum munitus, intentus, non si paupertas, non si luctus, non si ignominia, non si dolor impetum faciat, pedem referet. Interritus et contra illa ibit et inter illa.

9 Nos multa alligant, multa debilitant. Diu in istis vitiis iacuimus, elui difficile est. Non enim inquinati sumus, sed infecti. Ne ab alia imagine ad aliam transeamus, hoc quaeram, quod saepe mecum dispicio: quid ita nos stultitia tam pertinaciter teneat? Primo quia non fortiter illam repellimus nec toto ad salutem impetu nitimur, deinde quia illa, quae a sapientibus viris reperta sunt, non satis credimus nec apertis pectoribus haurimus leviterque tam magnae
10 rei insistimus. Quemadmodum autem potest aliquis, quantum satis sit, adversus vitia discere, qui quantum a vitiis vacat, discit? Nemo nostrum in altum

[a] *i.e.*, by the troops of the second line, who in training and quality were inferior to the troops of the legion.

[b] *i.e.*, from that of the "fetter" to that of "dust and dye." In § 6 Seneca has praised Lucilius for his judicious employment of metaphors.

under great leaders; we see how all the troops simultaneously understand their general's orders, since they are so arranged that a signal given by one man passes down the ranks of cavalry and infantry at the same moment. This, he declares, is still more necessary for men like ourselves; for soldiers have often feared an enemy without reason, and the march which they thought most dangerous has in fact been most secure; but folly brings no repose, fear haunts it both in the van and in the rear of the column, and both flanks are in a panic. Folly is pursued, and confronted, by peril. It blenches at everything; it is unprepared; it is frightened even by auxiliary troops.[a] But the wise man is fortified against all inroads; he is alert; he will not retreat before the attack of poverty, or of sorrow, or of disgrace, or of pain. He will walk undaunted both against them and among them.

We human beings are fettered and weakened by many vices; we have wallowed in them for a long time, and it is hard for us to be cleansed. We are not merely defiled; we are dyed by them. But, to refrain from passing from one figure[b] to another, I will raise this question, which I often consider in my own heart: why is it that folly holds us with such an insistent grasp? It is, primarily, because we do not combat it strongly enough, because we do not struggle towards salvation with all our might; secondly, because we do not put sufficient trust in the discoveries of the wise, and do not drink in their words with open hearts; we approach this great problem in too trifling a spirit. But how can a man learn, in the struggle against his vices, an amount that is enough, if the time which he gives to learning is only the amount left over from his vices?

descendit. Summa tantum decerpsimus et exiguum temporis impendisse philosophiae satis abundeque
11 occupatis fuit. Illud praecipue impedit, quod cito nobis placemus; si invenimus, qui nos bonos viros dicat, qui prudentes, qui sanctos, adgnoscimus. Non sumus modica laudatione contenti; quicquid in nos adulatio sine pudore congessit, tamquam debitum prendimus. Optimos nos esse, sapientissimos adfirmantibus adsentimur, cum sciamus illos saepe multa mentiri. Adeoque indulgemus nobis, ut laudari velimus in id, cui contraria cum maxime facimus. Mitissimum ille se in ipsis suppliciis audit, in rapinis liberalissimum, in[1] ebrietatibus ac libidinibus temperantissimum. Sequitur itaque, ut ideo mutari nolimus, quia nos optimos esse credimus.

12 Alexander cum iam in India vagaretur et gentes ne finitimis quidem satis notas bello vastaret, in obsidione cuiusdam urbis, dum[2] circumit muros et inbecillissima moenium quaerit, sagitta ictus diu persedere et incepta agere perseveravit. Deinde cum represso sanguine sicci vulneris dolor cresceret et crus suspensum equo paulatim optorpuisset, coactus apsistere "Omnes," inquit, "iurant esse me Iovis filium, sed vulnus hoc hominem esse me
13 clamat." Idem nos faciamus. Pro sua quemque

[1] *et in* MSS.; *et* deleted by Mentel.
[2] *dum* added by P², omitted by other MSS.

[a] Several similar stories are related about Alexander, *e.g.* Plutarch, *Moralia*, 180 E, where he says to his flatterers, pointing to a wound just received: "See, this is blood, not ichor!"

None of us goes deep below the surface. We skim the top only, and we regard the smattering of time spent in the search for wisdom as enough and to spare for a busy man. What hinders us most of all is that we are too readily satisfied with ourselves; if we meet with someone who calls us good men, or sensible men, or holy men, we see ourselves in his description. Not content with praise in moderation, we accept everything that shameless flattery heaps upon us, as if it were our due. We agree with those who declare us to be the best and wisest of men, although we know that they are given to much lying. And we are so self-complacent that we desire praise for certain actions when we are especially addicted to the very opposite. Yonder person hears himself called "most gentle" when he is inflicting tortures, or "most generous" when he is engaged in looting, or "most temperate" when he is in the midst of drunkenness and lust. Thus it follows that we are unwilling to be reformed, just because we believe ourselves to be the best of men.

Alexander was roaming as far as India, ravaging tribes that were but little known, even to their neighbours. During the blockade of a certain city, while he was reconnoitring the walls and hunting for the weakest spot in the fortifications, he was wounded by an arrow. Nevertheless, he long continued the siege, intent on finishing what he had begun. The pain of his wound, however, as the surface became dry and as the flow of blood was checked, increased; his leg gradually became numb as he sat his horse; and finally, when he was forced to withdraw, he exclaimed: "All men swear that I am the son of Jupiter, but this wound cries out that I am mortal." [a] Let us also act in the same way.

portione adulatio infatuat. Dicamus: "Vos quidem dicitis me prudentem esse, ego autem video, quam multa inutilia concupiscam, nocitura optem. Ne hoc quidem intellego, quod animalibus satietas monstrat, quis cibo debeat esse, quis potioni modus. Quantum capiam adhuc nescio."

14 Iam docebo, quemadmodum intellegas te non esse sapientem. Sapiens ille plenus est gaudio, hilaris et placidus, inconcussus; cum dis ex pari vivit. Nunc ipse te consule; si numquam maestus es, nulla spes animum tuum futuri exspectatione sollicitat, si per dies noctesque par et aequalis animi tenor erecti et placentis sibi est, pervenisti ad humani boni summam. Sed si adpetis voluptates et undique et omnes, scito tantum tibi ex sapientia, quantum ex gaudio deesse. Ad hoc cupis pervenire, sed erras, qui inter divitias illuc venturum esse te speras, inter honores, id est, gaudium inter sollicitudines quaeris. Ista, quae sic petis tamquam datura laetitiam ac voluptatem, causae dolorum sunt.

15 Omnes, inquam, illi tendunt ad gaudium, sed unde stabile magnumque consequantur, ignorant. Ille ex conviviis et luxuria, ille ex ambitione et circumfusa clientium turba, ille ex amica, alius ex studiorum liberalium vana ostentatione et nihil

Each man, according to his lot in life, is stultified by flattery. We should say to him who flatters us: "You call me a man of sense, but I understand how many of the things which I crave are useless, and how many of the things which I desire will do me harm. I have not even the knowledge, which satiety teaches to animals, of what should be the measure of my food or my drink. I do not yet know how much I can hold."

I shall now show you how you may know that you are not wise. The wise man is joyful, happy and calm, unshaken; he lives on a plane with the gods. Now go, question yourself; if you are never downcast, if your mind is not harassed by any apprehension, through anticipation of what is to come, if day and night your soul keeps on its even and unswerving course, upright and content with itself, then you have attained to the greatest good that mortals can possess. If, however, you seek pleasures of all kinds in all directions, you must know that you are as far short of wisdom as you are short of joy. Joy is the goal which you desire to reach, but you are wandering from the path, if you expect to reach your goal while you are in the midst of riches and official titles, —in other words, if you seek joy in the midst of cares. These objects for which you strive so eagerly, as if they would give you happiness and pleasure, are merely causes of grief.

All men of this stamp, I maintain, are pressing on in pursuit of joy, but they do not know where they may obtain a joy that is both great and enduring. One person seeks it in feasting and self-indulgence; another, in canvassing for honours and in being surrounded by a throng of clients; another, in his mistress; another, in idle display of culture and in

sanantibus litteris; omnes istos oblectamenta fallacia et brevia decipiunt, sicut ebrietas, quae unius horae hilarem insaniam longi temporis taedio pensat, sicut plausus et adclamationis secundae favor, qui magna sollicitudine et partus est et expiandus.

16 Hoc ergo cogita, hunc esse sapientiae effectum, gaudii aequalitatem. Talis est sapientis animus, qualis mundus[1] super lunam; semper illic serenum est. Habes ergo et[2] quare velis sapiens esse, si numquam[3] sine gaudio est. Gaudium hoc non nascitur
17 nisi ex virtutum conscientia. Non potest gaudere, nisi fortis, nisi iustus, nisi temperans. "Quid ergo?" inquis, "Stulti ac mali non gaudent?" Non magis quam praedam nancti leones. Cum fatigaverunt se vino ac libidinibus, cum illos nox inter vitia defecit, cum voluptates angusto corpori ultra quam capiebat ingestae suppurare coeperunt, tunc exclamant miseri Vergilianum illum versum:

> Namque ut supremam falsa inter gaudia noctem
> Egerimus, nosti.

18 Omnem luxuriosi noctem inter falsa gaudia et quidem tamquam supremam agunt; illud gaudium, quod deos deorumque aemulos sequitur, non interrumpitur, non desinit; desineret, si sumptum esset

[1] *mundus* b[1]V[2]P[2]; *mundi* pLV[1]P[1]; *mundi status* Erasmus; *facies mundi* Hense.
[2] *et* Haase; *ut* pLV, omitted in Pb.
[3] *esse, si numquam* Haase; *esse et sinum quam* p; *esse quia si numquam* LVPbO.

[a] Seneca returns to the definition of *gaudium* given in § 2: "True joy never ceases and never changes into its opposite." It is not subject to ups and downs.
[b] *Cf.* Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. 6. 1. The upper firmament, near the stars, is free from clouds and storms. It is calm, though the lightning plays below.
[c] *Aeneid*, vi. 513 f. The night is that which preceded the sack of Troy.

literature that has no power to heal; all these men are led astray by delights which are deceptive and short-lived—like drunkenness for example, which pays for a single hour of hilarious madness by a sickness of many days, or like applause and the popularity of enthusiastic approval which are gained, and atoned for, at the cost of great mental disquietude.

Reflect, therefore, on this, that the effect of wisdom is a joy that is unbroken and continuous.[a] The mind of the wise man is like the ultra-lunar firmament[b]; eternal calm pervades that region. You have, then, a reason for wishing to be wise, if the wise man is never deprived of joy. This joy springs only from the knowledge that you possess the virtues. None but the brave, the just, the self-restrained, can rejoice. And when you query: "What do you mean? Do not the foolish and the wicked also rejoice?" I reply, no more than lions who have caught their prey. When men have wearied themselves with wine and lust, when night fails them before their debauch is done, when the pleasures which they have heaped upon a body that is too small to hold them begin to fester, at such times they utter in their wretchedness those lines of Vergil[c]:

> Thou knowest how, amid false-glittering joys,
> We spent that last of nights.

Pleasure-lovers spend every night amid false-glittering joys, and just as if it were their last. But the joy which comes to the gods, and to those who imitate the gods, is not broken off, nor does it cease; but it would surely cease were it borrowed

aliunde. Quia non est alieni muneris, ne arbitrii quidem alieni est. Quod non dedit fortuna, non eripit. VALE.

LX.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Queror, litigo, irascor. Etiamnunc optas, quod tibi optavit nutrix tua aut paedagogus aut mater? Nondum intellegis, quantum mali optaverint? O quam inimica nobis sunt vota nostrorum! Eo quidem inimiciora quo cessere felicius. Iam non admiror, si omnia nos a prima pueritia mala secuntur; inter execrationes parentum crevimus. Exaudiant di nostram quoque [1] pro nobis vocem gratuitam.

2 Quousque poscemus aliquid deos ita quasi [2] nondum ipsi alere nos possimus? Quamdiu sationibus inplebimus magnarum urbium campos? Quamdiu nobis populus metet? Quamdiu unius mensae instrumentum multa navigia et quidem non ex uno mari subvehent? Taurus paucissimorum iugerum pascuo impletur; una silva elephantis pluribus

3 sufficit; homo et terra et mari pascitur. Quid ergo? Tam insatiabilem nobis natura alvum dedit, cum tam modica corpora dedisset, ut vastissimorum edacissimorumque animalium aviditatem vinceremus? Minime. Quantulum est enim, quod naturae datur?

[1] *nostram quoque* Buecheler; *quoque nostram* MSS.; *quandoque nostram* Muretus.
[2] *ita quasi* Haase; *quasi ita* or *ita* MSS.

from without. Just because it is not in the power of another to bestow, neither is it subject to another's whims. That which Fortune has not given, she cannot take away. Farewell.

LX. ON HARMFUL PRAYERS

I file a complaint, I enter a suit, I am angry. Do you still desire what your nurse, your guardian, or your mother, have prayed for in your behalf? Do you not yet understand what evil they prayed for? Alas, how hostile to us are the wishes of our own folk! And they are all the more hostile in proportion as they are more completely fulfilled. It is no surprise to me, at my age, that nothing but evil attends us from our early youth; for we have grown up amid the curses invoked by our parents. And may the gods give ear to our cry also, uttered in our own behalf,—one which asks no favours!

How long shall we go on making demands upon the gods, as if we were still unable to support ourselves? How long shall we continue to fill with grain the market-places of our great cities? How long must the people gather it in for us? How long shall many ships convey the requisites for a single meal, bringing them from no single sea? The bull is filled when he feeds over a few acres; and one forest is large enough for a herd of elephants. Man, however, draws sustenance both from the earth and from the sea. What, then? Did nature give us bellies so insatiable, when she gave us these puny bodies, that we should outdo the hugest and most voracious animals in greed? Not at all. How small is the amount which will satisfy nature? A very

Parvo illa dimittitur. Non fames nobis ventris nostri
4 magno constat, sed ambitio. Hos itaque, ut ait Sallustius, "ventri oboedientes" animalium loco numeremus, non hominum, quosdam vero ne animalium quidem, sed mortuorum. Vivit is, qui multis usui est, vivit is, qui se utitur; qui vero latitant et torpent, sic in domo sunt, quomodo in conditivo. Horum licet in limine ipso nomen marmori inscribas, mortem suam antecesserunt. VALE.

LXI.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Desinamus, quod voluimus, velle. Ego certe id ago: senex ea desii velle [1] quae puer volui. In hoc unum eunt dies, in hoc noctes, hoc opus meum est, haec cogitatio: inponere veteribus malis finem. Id ago, ut mihi instar totius vitae dies sit. Nec mehercules tamquam ultimum rapio, sed sic illum aspicio,
2 tamquam esse vel ultimus possit. Hoc animo tibi hanc epistulam scribo, tamquam me cum maxime scribentem mors evocatura sit. Paratus exire sum et ideo fruar vita, quia quam diu futurum hoc sit, non nimis pendeo.

Ante senectutem curavi, ut bene viverem, in senectute, ut bene moriar; bene autem mori est

[1] *senex; ea desii velle* Schultess; *senex eadem velle* pLVPb; *senex ne eadem velle videar* later MSS; *senex ne eadem velim* Hense after Madvig.

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[a] *Catiline*, i. 1.

[b] *i.e.*, like animals.

[c] *i.e.*, you may put an epitaph upon his dwelling as if it were a tomb.

little will send her away contented. It is not the natural hunger of our bellies that costs us dear, but our solicitous cravings. Therefore those who, as Sallust[a] puts it, "hearken to their bellies," should be numbered among the animals, and not among men; and certain men, indeed, should be numbered, not even among the animals, but among the dead. He really lives who is made use of by many; he really lives who makes use of himself. Those men, however, who creep into a hole and grow torpid[b] are no better off in their homes than if they were in their tombs. Right there on the marble lintel of the house of such a man you may inscribe his name,[c] for he has died before he is dead. Farewell.

LXI. ON MEETING DEATH CHEERFULLY

Let us cease to desire that which we have been desiring. I, at least, am doing this: in my old age I have ceased to desire what I desired when a boy. To this single end my days and my nights are passed; this is my task, this the object of my thoughts,—to put an end to my chronic ills. I am endeavouring to live every day as if it were a complete life. I do not indeed snatch it up as if it were my last; I do regard it, however, as if it might even be my last. The present letter is written to you with this in mind,—as if death were about to call me away in the very act of writing. I am ready to depart, and I shall enjoy life just because I am not over-anxious as to the future date of my departure.

Before I became old I tried to live well; now that I am old, I shall try to die well; but dying

libenter mori. Da operam, ne quid umquam invitus
3 facias. Quicquid necesse futurum est repugnanti, volenti necessitas non est. Ita dico: qui imperia libens excipit, partem acerbissimam servitutis effugit, facere quod nolit. Non qui iussus aliquid facit, miser est, set qui invitus facit. Itaque sic animum conponamus, ut quicquid res exiget, id velimus et in primis
4 ut finem nostri sine tristitia cogitemus. Ante ad mortem quam ad vitam praeparandi sumus. Satis instructa vita est, sed nos in instrumenta eius avidi sumus; deesse aliquid nobis videtur et semper videbitur. Ut satis vixerimus, nec anni nec dies faciunt, sed animus. Vixi, Lucili carissime, quantum satis erat; mortem plenus exspecto. VALE.

LXII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Mentiuntur, qui sibi obstare ad studia liberalia turbam negotiorum videri volunt; simulant occupationes et augent et ipsi se occupant. Vaco, Lucili, vaco et ubicumque sum, ibi meus sum. Rebus enim me non trado, sed commodo, nec consector perdendi temporis causas. Et quocumque constiti loco, ibi cogitationes meas tracto et aliquid in animo salutare

[a] A reminiscence of Lucretius, iii. 938 f. *Cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis Aequo animoque capis securam, stulte, quietem? Cf.* also Horace, *Sat.* i. 1. 118 f. *vita Cedat uti conviva satur.*

well means dying gladly. See to it that you never do anything unwillingly. That which is bound to be a necessity if you rebel, is not a necessity if you desire it. This is what I mean: he who takes his orders gladly, escapes the bitterest part of slavery,—doing what one does not want to do. The man who does something under orders is not unhappy; he is unhappy who does something against his will. Let us therefore so set our minds in order that we may desire whatever is demanded of us by circumstances, and above all that we may reflect upon our end without sadness. We must make ready for death before we make ready for life. Life is well enough furnished, but we are too greedy with regard to its furnishings; something always seems to us lacking, and will always seem lacking. To have lived long enough depends neither upon our years nor upon our days, but upon our minds. I have lived, my dear friend Lucilius, long enough. I have had my fill[a]; I await death. Farewell.

LXII. ON GOOD COMPANY

We are deceived by those who would have us believe that a multitude of affairs blocks their pursuit of liberal studies; they make a pretence of their engagements, and multiply them, when their engagements are merely with themselves. As for me, Lucilius, my time is free; it is indeed free, and wherever I am, I am master of myself. For I do not surrender myself to my affairs, but loan myself to them, and I do not hunt out excuses for wasting my time. And wherever I am situated, I carry on my own meditations and ponder in my mind some

2 converso. Cum me amicis dedi non tamen mihi abduco, nec cum illis moror, quibus me tempus aliquod congregavit aut causa ex officio nata civili,[1] sed cum optimo quoque sum; ad illos, in quocumque loco, in quocumque saeculo fuerunt, animum meum mitto.
3 Demetrium, virorum optimum, mecum circumfero et relictis conchyliatis cum illo seminudo loquor, illum admiror. Quidni admirer? Vidi nihil ei deesse. Contemnere aliquis omnia potest, omnia habere nemo potest. Brevissima ad divitias per contemptum divitiarum via est. Demetrius autem noster sic vivit, non tamquam contempserit omnia, sed tamquam aliis habenda permiserit. VALE.

LXIII.

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 Moleste fero decessisse Flaccum, amicum tuum, plus tamen aequo dolere te nolo. Illud, ut non doleas, vix audebo exigere; et esse melius scio. Sed cui ista firmitas animi continget nisi iam multum supra fortunam elato? Illum quoque ista res vellicabit, sed tantum vellicabit. Nobis autem ignosci potest prolapsis ad lacrimas, si non nimiae decucurrerunt, si ipsi illas repressimus. Nec sicci sint oculi

[1] *civili* late MSS.; *civi* the rest, followed by Hense.

[a] Demetrius of Sunium, the Cynic philosopher, who taught in Rome in the reign of Caligula and was banished by Nero.

[b] *i.e.*, he has achieved the Stoic ideal of independence of all external control; he is a king and has all things to bestow upon others, but needs nothing for himself.

wholesome thought. When I give myself to my friends, I do not withdraw from my own company, nor do I linger with those who are associated with me through some special occasion or some case which arises from my official position. But I spend my time in the company of all the best; no matter in what lands they may have lived, or in what age, I let my thoughts fly to them. Demetrius,[a] for instance, the best of men, I take about with me, and, leaving the wearers of purple and fine linen, I talk with him, half-naked as he is, and hold him in high esteem. Why should I not hold him in high esteem? I have found that he lacks nothing. It is in the power of any man to despise all things, but of no man to possess all things. The shortest cut to riches is to despise riches. Our friend Demetrius, however, lives not merely as if he has learned to despise all things, but as if he has handed them over for others to possess.[b] Farewell.

LXIII. ON GRIEF FOR LOST FRIENDS

I am grieved to hear that your friend Flaccus is dead, but I would not have you sorrow more than is fitting. That you should not mourn at all I shall hardly dare to insist; and yet I know that it is the better way. But what man will ever be so blessed with that ideal steadfastness of soul, unless he has already risen far above the reach of Fortune? Even such a man will be stung by an event like this, but it will be only a sting. We, however, may be forgiven for bursting into tears, if only our tears have not flowed to excess, and if we have checked them by our own efforts. Let not the eyes be dry when

amisso amico nec fluant. Lacrimandum est, non plorandum.

2 Duram tibi legem videor ponere, cum poetarum Graecorum maximus ius flendi dederit in unum dumtaxat diem, cum dixerit etiam Niobam de cibo cogitasse? Quaeris, unde sint lamentationes, unde inmodici fletus? Per lacrimas argumenta desiderii quaerimus et dolorem non sequimur, sed ostendimus. Nemo tristis sibi est. O infelicem stultitiam! Est aliqua et doloris ambitio.

3 "Quid ergo?" inquis, "Obliviscar amici?" Brevem illi apud te memoriam promittis, si cum dolore mansura est; iam istam frontem ad risum quaelibet fortuita res transferet. Non differo in longius tempus, quo desiderium omne mulcetur, quo etiam acerrimi luctus residunt. Cum primum te observare desieris, imago ista tristitiae discedet; nunc ipse custodis dolorem tuum. Sed custodienti quoque elabitur eoque citius, quo est acrior, desinit.

4 Id agamus, ut iucunda nobis amissorum fiat recordatio. Nemo libenter ad id redit, quod non sine tormento cogitaturus est. Sic et[1] illud fieri necesse est, ut cum aliquo nobis morsu amissorum, quos amavimus, nomen occurrat. Sed hic quoque morsus
5 habet suam voluptatem. Nam, ut dicere solebat Attalus noster, "sic amicorum defunctorum memoria

[1] *sic et* Hense; *sic ut* pLV; *sic* Pb.

[a] Homer, *Iliad*, xix. 229 and xxiv. 602.
[b] The teacher of Seneca, often mentioned by him.

we have lost a friend, nor let them overflow. We may weep, but we must not wail.

Do you think that the law which I lay down for you is harsh, when the greatest of Greek poets has extended the privilege of weeping to one day only, in the lines where he tells us that even Niobe took thought of food[a]? Do you wish to know the reason for lamentations and excessive weeping? It is because we seek the proofs of our bereavement in our tears, and do not give way to sorrow, but merely parade it. No man goes into mourning for his own sake. Shame on our ill-timed folly! There is an element of self-seeking even in our sorrow.

"What," you say, "am I to forget my friend?" It is surely a short-lived memory that you vouchsafe to him, if it is to endure only as long as your grief; presently that brow of yours will be smoothed out in laughter by some circumstance, however casual. It is to a time no more distant than this that I put off the soothing of every regret, the quieting of even the bitterest grief. As soon as you cease to observe yourself, the picture of sorrow which you have contemplated will fade away; at present you are keeping watch over your own suffering. But even while you keep watch it slips away from you, and the sharper it is, the more speedily it comes to an end.

Let us see to it that the recollection of those whom we have lost becomes a pleasant memory to us. No man reverts with pleasure to any subject which he will not be able to reflect upon without pain. So too it cannot but be that the names of those whom we have loved and lost come back to us with a sort of sting; but there is a pleasure even in this sting. For, as my friend Attalus[b] used to say: "The remembrance of lost friends is pleasant in the same

iucunda est, quomodo poma quaedam sunt suaviter aspera, quomodo in vino nimis veteri ipsa nos amaritudo delectat; cum vero intervenit spatium, omne, quod angebat, extinguitur et pura ad nos
6 voluptas venit." Si illi credimus, "Amicos incolumes cogitare melle ac placenta frui est; eorum, qui fuerunt, retractatio non sine acerbitate quadam iuvat. Quis autem negaverit haec acria quoque et habentia
7 austeritatis aliquid stomachum excitare?" Ego non idem sentio, mihi amicorum defunctorum cogitatio dulcis ac blanda est. Habui enim illos tamquam amissurus, amisi tamquam habeam.

Fac ergo, mi Lucili, quod aequitatem tuam decet, desine beneficium fortunae male interpretari; abs-
8 tulit, sed dedit. Ideo amicis avide fruamur, quia quamdiu contingere hoc possit, incertum est. Cogitemus, quam saepe illos reliquerimus in aliquam peregrinationem longinquam exituri, quam saepe eodem morantes loco non viderimus; intellegemus plus nos
9 temporis in vivis perdidisse. Feras autem hos, qui neglegentissime amicos habent, miserrime lugent, nec amant quemquam, nisi perdiderunt? Ideoque tunc effusius maerent, quia verentur, ne dubium sit, an
10 amaverint; sera indicia adfectus sui quaerunt. Si habemus alios amicos, male de iis et meremur et

way that certain fruits have an agreeably acid taste, or as in extremely old wines it is their very bitterness that pleases us. Indeed, after a certain lapse of time, every thought that gave pain is quenched, and the pleasure comes to us unalloyed." If we take the word of Attalus for it, "to think of friends who are alive and well is like enjoying a meal of cakes and honey; the recollection of friends who have passed away gives a pleasure that is not without a touch of bitterness. Yet who will deny that even these things, which are bitter and contain an element of sourness, do serve to arouse the stomach?" For my part, I do not agree with him. To me, the thought of my dead friends is sweet and appealing. For I have had them as if I should one day lose them; I have lost them as if I have them still.

Therefore, Lucilius, act as befits your own serenity of mind, and cease to put a wrong interpretation on the gifts of Fortune. Fortune has taken away, but Fortune has given. Let us greedily enjoy our friends, because we do not know how long this privilege will be ours. Let us think how often we shall leave them when we go upon distant journeys, and how often we shall fail to see them when we tarry together in the same place; we shall thus understand that we have lost too much of their time while they were alive. But will you tolerate men who are most careless of their friends, and then mourn them most abjectly, and do not love anyone unless they have lost him? The reason why they lament too unrestrainedly at such times is that they are afraid lest men doubt whether they really have loved; all too late they seek for proofs of their emotions. If we have other friends, we surely deserve ill at their hands and think ill of them, if

existimamus, qui parum valent in unius elati solacium; si non habemus, maiorem iniuriam ipsi nobis fecimus quam a fortuna accepimus; illa unum abstulit, nos,
11 quemcumque non fecimus. Deinde ne unum quidem nimis amavit, qui plus quam unum amare non potuit. Si quis despoliatus amissa unica tunica conplorare se malit quam circumspicere, quomodo frigus effugiat et aliquid inveniat, quo tegat scapulas, nonne tibi videatur stultissimus?

Quem amabas, extulisti; quaere, quem ames.
12 Satius est amicum reparare quam flere. Scio pertritum iam hoc esse, quod adiecturus sum, non ideo tamen praetermittam, quia ab omnibus dictum est: finem dolendi etiam qui consilio non fecerat, tempore invenit. Turpissimum autem est in homine prudente remedium maeroris lassitudo maerendi. Malo relinquas dolorem quam ab illo relinquaris, et quam primum id facere desiste, quod etiam si voles, diu facere non
13 poteris. Annum feminis ad lugendum constituere maiores, non ut tam diu lugerent, sed ne diutius; viris nullum legitimum tempus est, quia nullum honestum. Quam tamen mihi ex illis mulierculis dabis vix retractis a rogo, vix a cadavere revulsis, cui lacrimae in totum mensem duraverint? Nulla res

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[a] The reason is, as Lipsius observed, that friendship is essentially a social virtue, and is not confined to one object. The pretended friendship for one and only one is a form of self-love, and is not unselfish love.

[b] According to tradition, from the time of Numa Pompilius.

they are of so little account that they fail to console us for the loss of one. If, on the other hand, we have no other friends, we have injured ourselves more than Fortune has injured us; since Fortune has robbed us of one friend, but we have robbed ourselves of every friend whom we have failed to make. Again, he who has been unable to love more than one, has had none too much love even for that one.[a] If a man who has lost his one and only tunic through robbery chooses to bewail his plight rather than look about him for some way to escape the cold, or for something with which to cover his shoulders, would you not think him an utter fool?

You have buried one whom you loved; look about for someone to love. It is better to replace your friend than to weep for him. What I am about to add is, I know, a very hackneyed remark, but I shall not omit it simply because it is a common phrase: A man ends his grief by the mere passing of time, even if he has not ended it of his own accord. But the most shameful cure for sorrow, in the case of a sensible man, is to grow weary of sorrowing. I should prefer you to abandon grief, rather than have grief abandon you; and you should stop grieving as soon as possible, since, even if you wish to do so, it is impossible to keep it up for a long time. Our forefathers[b] have enacted that, in the case of women, a year should be the limit for mourning; not that they needed to mourn for so long, but that they should mourn no longer. In the case of men, no rules are laid down, because to mourn at all is not regarded as honourable. For all that, what woman can you show me, of all the pathetic females that could scarcely be dragged away from the funeral-pile or torn from the corpse, whose tears have lasted a whole month?

citius in odium venit quam dolor, qui recens consolatorem invenit et aliquos ad se adducit, inveteratus vero deridetur, nec inmerito. Aut enim simulatus aut stultus est.

14 Haec tibi scribo is, qui Annaeum Serenum, carissimum mihi, tam inmodice flevi, ut, quod minime velim, inter exempla sim eorum, quos dolor vicit. Hodie autem factum meum damno et intellego maximam mihi causam sic lugendi fuisse, quod numquam cogitaveram mori eum ante me posse. Hoc unum mihi occurrebat, minorem esse et multo minorem, tamquam ordinem fata servarent.

15 Itaque adsidue cogitemus tam de nostra quam omnium, quos diligimus, mortalitate. Tunc ego[1] debui dicere: "Minor est Serenus meus; quid ad rem pertinet? Post me mori debet, sed ante me potest." Quia non feci, inparatum subito fortuna percussit. Nunc cogita omnia et mortalia esse et incerta lege mortalia. Hodie fieri potest, quicquid
16 umquam potest. Cogitemus ergo, Lucili carissime, cito nos eo perventuros, quo illum pervenisse maeremus. Et fortasse, si modo vera sapientium fama est recipitque nos locus aliquis, quem putamus perisse, praemissus est. Vale.

[1] *ego* the other MSS.; *ergo* p, possibly rightly.

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[a] An intimate friend of Seneca, probably a relative, who died in the year 63 from eating poisoned mushrooms (Pliny, *N. H.* xxii. 96). Seneca dedicated to Serenus several of his philosophical essays.

[b] *Cf.* the closing chapter of the *Agricola* of Tacitus: *si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnae animae*, etc.

Nothing becomes offensive so quickly as grief; when fresh, it finds someone to console it and attracts one or another to itself; but after becoming chronic, it is ridiculed, and rightly. For it is either assumed or foolish.

He who writes these words to you is no other than I, who wept so excessively for my dear friend Annaeus Serenus[a] that, in spite of my wishes, I must be included among the examples of men who have been overcome by grief. To-day, however, I condemn this act of mine, and I understand that the reason why I lamented so greatly was chiefly that I had never imagined it possible for his death to precede mine. The only thought which occurred to my mind was that he was the younger, and much younger, too,—as if the Fates kept to the order of our ages!

Therefore let us continually think as much about our own mortality as about that of all those we love. In former days I ought to have said: "My friend Serenus is younger than I; but what does that matter? He would naturally die after me, but he may precede me." It was just because I did not do this that I was unprepared when Fortune dealt me the sudden blow. Now is the time for you to reflect, not only that all things are mortal, but also that their mortality is subject to no fixed law. Whatever can happen at any time can happen to-day. Let us therefore reflect, my beloved Lucilius, that we shall soon come to the goal which this friend, to our own sorrow, has reached. And perhaps, if only the tale told by wise men is true[b] and there is a bourne to welcome us, then he whom we think we have lost has only been sent on ahead. Farewell.

LXIIII.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Fuisti here nobiscum. Potes[1] queri, si here tantum. Ideo adieci "nobiscum." Mecum enim semper es. Intervenerant quidam amici, propter quos maior fumus fieret, non hic, qui erumpere ex lautorum culinis et terrere vigiles solet, sed hic
2 modicus, qui hospites venisse significet. Varius nobis fuit sermo, ut in convivio, nullam rem usque ad exitum adducens, sed aliunde alio transiliens. Lectus est deinde liber Quinti Sextii patris, magni, si quid mihi credis, viri et, licet neget, Stoici.
3 Quantus in illo, di boni, vigor est, quantum animi! Hoc non in omnibus philosophis invenies; quorundam scripta clarum habentium[2] nomen exanguia sunt. Instituunt, disputant, cavillantur, non faciunt animum, quia non habent; cum legeris Sextium, dices: "Vivit, viget, liber est, supra hominem est, dimittit me
4 plenum ingentis fiduciae." In qua positione mentis sim, cum hunc lego, fatebor tibi: libet omnis casus provocare, libet exclamare: "Quid cessas, fortuna? Congredere; paratum vides." Illius animum induo, qui quaerit, ubi se experiatur, ubi virtutem suam ostendat,

[1] *potes* later MSS.; *potest* pLVPb.
[2] *habentium* Bickel; *habent tum* p; *habent tantum* LVPb.

[a] See on *Ep.* lix. 7. As the following sentence indicates, he seems to have considered himself an eclectic in philosophy, and to have been half Stoic, half Pythagorean.

LXIV. ON THE PHILOSOPHER'S TASK

Yesterday you were with us. You might complain if I said "yesterday" merely. This is why I have added "with us." For, so far as I am concerned, you are always with me. Certain friends had happened in, on whose account a somewhat brighter fire was laid,—not the kind that generally bursts from the kitchen chimneys of the rich and scares the watch, but the moderate blaze which means that guests have come. Our talk ran on various themes, as is natural at a dinner; it pursued no chain of thought to the end, but jumped from one topic to another. We then had read to us a book by Quintus Sextius the Elder.[a] He is a great man, if you have any confidence in my opinion, and a real Stoic, though he himself denies it. Ye Gods, what strength and spirit one finds in him! This is not the case with all philosophers; there are some men of illustrious name whose writings are sapless. They lay down rules, they argue, and they quibble; they do not infuse spirit simply because they have no spirit. But when you come to read Sextius, you will say: "He is alive; he is strong; he is free; he is more than a man; he fills me with a mighty confidence before I close his book." I shall acknowledge to you the state of mind I am in when I read his works: I want to challenge every hazard; I want to cry: "Why keep me waiting, Fortune? Enter the lists! Behold, I am ready for you!" I assume the spirit of a man who seeks where he may make trial of himself, where he may show his worth:

Spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis
Optat aprum aut fulvum descendere monte leonem.

5 Libet aliquid habere quod vincam, cuius patientia exercear. Nam hoc quoque egregium Sextius habet, quod et ostendet tibi beatae vitae magnitudinem et desperationem eius non faciet; scies esse illam in excelso, sed volenti penetrabilem.

6 Hoc idem virtus tibi ipsa praestabit, ut illam admireris et tamen speres. Mihi certe multum auferre temporis solet contemplatio ipsa sapientiae; non aliter illam intueor obstupefactus quam ipsum interim mundum, quem saepe tamquam spectator
7 novus video. Veneror itaque inventa sapientiae inventoresque; adire tamquam multorum hereditatem iuvat. Mihi ista adquisita, mihi laborata sunt. Sed agamus bonum patrem familiae; faciamus ampliora, quae accepimus. Maior ista hereditas a me ad posteros transeat. Multum adhuc restat operis multumque restabit, nec ulli nato post mille saecula
8 praecludetur occasio aliquid adhuc adiciendi. Sed etiam si omnia a veteribus inventa sunt, hoc semper novum erit,[1] usus et inventorum ab aliis scientia ac dispositio. Puta relicta nobis medicamenta, quibus sanarentur oculi; non opus est mihi alia quaerere,

[1] *erit* the other MSS.; *ille erit* L, for which Haase proposes *illi*.

[a] Vergil, *Aeneid*, iv. 158 f. The boy Ascanius, at Dido's hunt, longs for wilder game than the deer and the goats.

> And fretting 'mid the unwarlike flocks he prays
> Some foam-flecked boar may cross his path, or else
> A tawny lion stalking down the hills.[a]

I want something to overcome, something on which I may test my endurance. For this is another remarkable quality that Sextius possesses: he will show you the grandeur of the happy life and yet will not make you despair of attaining it; you will understand that it is on high, but that it is accessible to him who has the will to seek it.

And virtue herself will have the same effect upon you, of making you admire her and yet hope to attain her. In my own case, at any rate, the very contemplation of wisdom takes much of my time; I gaze upon her with bewilderment, just as I sometimes gaze upon the firmament itself, which I often behold as if I saw it for the first time. Hence I worship the discoveries of wisdom and their discoverers; to enter, as it were, into the inheritance of many predecessors is a delight. It was for me that they laid up this treasure; it was for me that they toiled. But we should play the part of a careful householder; we should increase what we have inherited. This inheritance shall pass from me to my descendants larger than before. Much still remains to do, and much will always remain, and he who shall be born a thousand ages hence will not be barred from his opportunity of adding something further. But even if the old masters have discovered everything, one thing will be always new,—the application and the scientific study and classification of the discoveries made by others. Assume that prescriptions have been handed down to us for the healing of the eyes; there is no need of my searching for others in addition; but

sed haec tamen morbis et temporibus aptanda sunt. Hoc asperitas oculorum conlevatur; hoc palpebrarum crassitudo tenuatur; hoc vis subita et umor[1] avertitur; hoc acuetur visus; teras ista oportet et eligas tempus, adhibeas singulis modum.

Animi remedia inventa sunt ab antiquis; quomodo autem admoveantur aut quando, nostri operis est
9 quaerere. Multum egerunt, qui ante nos fuerunt, sed non peregerunt. Suspiciendi tamen sunt et ritu deorum colendi. Quidni ego magnorum virorum et imagines habeam incitamenta animi et natales celebrem? Quidni ego illos honoris causa semper appellem? Quam venerationem praeceptoribus meis debeo, eandem illis praeceptoribus generis humani,
10 a quibus tanti boni initia fluxerunt. Si consulem videro aut praetorem, omnia, quibus honor haberi honori solet, faciam; equo desiliam, caput adaperiam, semita cedam. Quid ergo? Marcum Catonem utrumque et Laelium Sapientem et Socraten cum Platone et Zenonem Cleanthenque in animum meum sine dignatione summa recipiam? Ego vero illos veneror et tantis nominibus semper adsurgo. Vale.

[1] *subita et umor* LVPb; *subite timor* p; *subita et timor* Cornelissen.

for all that, these prescriptions must be adapted to the particular disease and to the particular stage of the disease. Use this prescription to relieve granulation of the eyelids, that to reduce the swelling of the lids, this to prevent sudden pain or a rush of tears, that to sharpen the vision. Then compound these several prescriptions, watch for the right time of their application, and apply the proper treatment in each case.

The cures for the spirit also have been discovered by the ancients; but it is our task to learn the method and the time of treatment. Our predecessors have worked much improvement, but have not worked out the problem. They deserve respect, however, and should be worshipped with a divine ritual. Why should I not keep statues of great men to kindle my enthusiasm, and celebrate their birthdays? Why should I not continually greet them with respect and honour? The reverence which I owe to my own teachers I owe in like measure to those teachers of the human race, the source from which the beginnings of such great blessings have flowed. If I meet a consul or a praetor, I shall pay him all the honour which his post of honour is wont to receive: I shall dismount, uncover, and yield the road. What, then? Shall I admit into my soul with less than the highest marks of respect Marcus Cato, the Elder and the Younger, Laelius the Wise, Socrates and Plato, Zeno and Cleanthes? I worship them in very truth, and always rise to do honour to such noble names. Farewell.

LXV.

Seneca Lvcilio svo salvtem

1 Hesternum diem divisi cum mala valetudine; antemeridianum illa sibi vindicavit, postmeridiano mihi cessit. Itaque lectione primum temptavi animum. Deinde cum hanc recepisset, plus illi imperare ausus sum, immo permittere; aliquid scripsi et quidem intentius quam soleo, dum cum materia difficili contendo et vinci nolo, donec intervenerunt amici, qui mihi vim adferrent et tamquam aegrum
2 intemperantem coercerent. In locum stili sermo successit, ex quo eam partem ad te perferam, quae in lite est. Te arbitrum addiximus. Plus negotii habes quam existimas; triplex causa est.

Dicunt, ut scis, Stoici nostri duo esse in rerum natura, ex quibus omnia fiant, causam et materiam. Materia iacet iners, res ad omnia parata, cessatura, si nemo moveat. Causa autem, id est ratio, materiam format et quocumque vult versat, ex illa varia opera producit. Esse ergo debet, unde fiat aliquid, deinde a quo fiat. Hoc causa est, illud materia.

3 Omnis ars naturae imitatio est. Itaque quod de universo dicebam, ad haec transfer, quae ab homine

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[a] For Seneca's troubles in this regard see also *Epp.* liv. and civ.

[b] The *arbiter* was a judge appointed to try a case according to *bona fides* (equity), as contrasted with the *iudex* proper, whose duty was defined by the magistrate.

[c] See Zeller's *Stoics* (translated by Reichel), pp. 139 ff.

LXV. ON THE FIRST CAUSE

I shared my time yesterday with ill health[a]; it claimed for itself all the period before noon; in the afternoon, however, it yielded to me. And so I first tested my spirit by reading; then, when reading was found to be possible, I dared to make more demands upon the spirit, or perhaps I should say, to make more concessions to it. I wrote a little, and indeed with more concentration than usual, for I am struggling with a difficult subject and do not wish to be downed. In the midst of this, some friends visited me, with the purpose of employing force and of restraining me, as if I were a sick man indulging in some excess. So conversation was substituted for writing; and from this conversation I shall communicate to you the topic which is still the subject of debate; for we have appointed you referee.[b] You have more of a task on your hands than you suppose, for the argument is threefold.

Our Stoic philosophers, as you know, declare that there are two things in the universe which are the source of everything,—namely, cause and matter. Matter lies sluggish, a substance ready for any use, but sure to remain unemployed if no one sets it in motion. Cause, however, by which we mean reason, moulds matter and turns it in whatever direction it will, producing thereby various concrete results. Accordingly, there must be, in the case of each thing, that from which it is made, and, next, an agent by which it is made. The former is its material, the latter its cause.

All art is but imitation of nature; therefore, let me apply these statements of general principles to

facienda sunt. Statua et materiam habuit, quae pateretur artificem, et artificem, qui materiae daret faciem. Ergo in statua materia aes fuit, causa opifex. Eadem condicio rerum omnium est; ex eo constant,
4 quod fit, et ex eo, quod facit. Stoicis placet unam causam esse, id, quod facit. Aristoteles putat causam tribus modis dici: "Prima," inquit, "causa est ipsa materia, sine qua nihil potest effici; secunda opifex. Tertia est forma, quae unicuique operi inponitur tamquam statuae"; nam hanc Aristoteles idos vocat. "Quarta quoque," inquit, "his accedit, propositum
5 totius operis." Quid sit hoc, aperiam. Aes prima statuae causa est. Numquam enim facta esset, nisi fuisset id, ex quo funderetur duceretурve. Secunda causa artifex est. Non potuisset enim aes illud in habitum statuae figurari, nisi accessissent peritae manus. Tertia causa est forma. Neque enim statua ista doryphoros aut diadumenos vocaretur, nisi haec illi esset inpressa facies. Quarta causa est faciendi propositum. Nam nisi hoc fuisset, facta non esset.
6 Quid[1] est propositum? Quod invitavit artificem, quod ille secutus fecit; vel pecunia est haec, si venditurus fabricavit, vel gloria, si laboravit in nomen, vel religio, si donum templo paravit. Ergo et haec

[1] *quid* the later MSS.; *quod* pLVPb.

[a] The statue figure is a frequent one in philosophy; *cf. Ep.* ix. 5. The "form" of Aristotle goes back to the "idea" of Plato. These four causes are the causes of Aristotle,—matter (ὕλη), form (εἶδος), force (τὸ κινοῦν), and the end (τὸ τέλος); when they all concur, we pass from possibility to fact. Aristotle gives eight categories in *Phys.* 225 b 5; and ten in *Categ.* 1 b 25,—substance, quantity, quality, relation, place, time, situation, possession, action, passion. For a definition of εἶδος see Aristotle, *Phys.* 190 b 20 γίγνεται πᾶν ἔκ τε τοῦ ὑποκειμένου καὶ τῆς μορφῆς (*i.e.* τοῦ εἴδους).

[b] Well-known works of Polyclitus, fifth century B.C.

the things which have to be made by man. A statue, for example, has afforded matter which was to undergo treatment at the hands of the artist, and has had an artist who was to give form to the matter. Hence, in the case of the statue, the material was bronze, the cause was the workman. And so it goes with all things,—they consist of that which is made, and of the maker. The Stoics believe in one cause only,—the maker; but Aristotle thinks that the word "cause" can be used in three ways: "The first cause," he says, "is the actual matter, without which nothing can be created. The second is the workman. The third is the form, which is impressed upon every work,—a statue, for example." This last is what Aristotle calls the *idos*.[a] "There is, too," says he, "a fourth,—the purpose of the work as a whole." Now I shall show you what this last means. Bronze is the "first cause" of the statue, for it could never have been made unless there had been something from which it could be cast and moulded. The "second cause" is the artist; for without the skilled hands of a workman that bronze could not have been shaped to the outlines of the statue. The "third cause" is the form, inasmuch as our statue could never be called The Lance-Bearer or The Boy Binding his Hair,[b] had not this special shape been stamped upon it. The "fourth cause" is the purpose of the work. For if this purpose had not existed, the statue would not have been made. Now what is this purpose? It is that which attracted the artist, which he followed when he made the statue. It may have been money, if he has made it for sale; or renown, if he has worked for reputation; or religion, if he has wrought it as a gift for a temple. Therefore this also is a cause contributing towards the making of the statue;

causa est, propter quam fit; an non putas inter causas facti operis esse numerandum, quo remoto factum non esset?

7 His quintam Plato adicit exemplar, quam ipse idean vocat; hoc est enim, ad quod respiciens artifex id, quod destinabat, effecit. Nihil autem ad rem pertinet, utrum foris habeat exemplar, ad quod referat oculos, an intus, quod ibi ipse concepit et posuit. Haec exemplaria rerum omnium deus intra se habet numerosque universorum, quae agenda sunt, et modos mente conplexus est; plenus his figuris est, quas Plato ideas appellat, inmortales, inmutabiles, infatigabiles. Itaque homines quidem pereunt, ipsa autem humanitas, ad quam homo effingitur, permanet, et hominibus laborantibus, intereuntibus illa nihil

8 patitur. Quinque ergo causae sunt, ut Plato dicit: id ex quo, id a quo, id in quo, id ad quod, id propter quod. Novissime id quod ex his est. Tamquam in statua, quia de hac loqui coepimus, id ex quo aes est, id a quo artifex est, id in quo forma est, quae aptatur illi, id ad quod exemplar est, quod imitatur is, qui facit, id propter quod facientis propositum est, id

9 quod ex istis est, ipsa statua est. Haec omnia mundus quoque, ut ait Plato, habet: facientem: hic deus est. Ex quo fit: haec materia est. Formam: haec est habitus et ordo mundi, quem videmus. Exemplar, scilicet, ad quod deus hanc magnitudinem

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[a] Explaining the derivation of the Greek word, — ἰδεῖν, "to behold." For a discussion of Plato's "ideas," those "independent, separate, self-existing, perfect, and eternal essences" (*Republic* vi. and vii.) see Adam, *The Republic of Plato*, ii. 168-179. According to Adam, Plato owes his theory of ideas to Socrates, the Eleatics, and the study of geometry; but his debt is not so great as his discovery.

[b] *i.e.*, the four categories as established by Aristotle, plus the "idea" of Plato.

or do you think that we should avoid including, among the causes of a thing which has been made, that element without which the thing in question would not have been made?

To these four Plato adds a fifth cause,—the pattern which he himself calls the "idea"; for it is this that the artist gazed upon [a] when he created the work which he had decided to carry out. Now it makes no difference whether he has his pattern outside himself, that he may direct his glance to it, or within himself, conceived and placed there by himself. God has within himself these patterns of all things, and his mind comprehends the harmonies and the measures of the whole totality of things which are to be carried out; he is filled with these shapes which Plato calls the "ideas,"—imperishable, unchangeable, not subject to decay. And therefore, though men die, humanity itself, or the idea of man, according to which man is moulded, lasts on, and though men toil and perish, it suffers no change. Accordingly, there are five causes, as Plato says [b]: the material, the agent, the make-up, the model, and the end in view. Last comes the result of all these. Just as in the case of the statue,—to go back to the figure with which we began,—the material is the bronze, the agent is the artist, the make-up is the form which is adapted to the material, the model is the pattern imitated by the agent, the end in view is the purpose in the maker's mind, and, finally, the result of all these is the statue itself. The universe also, in Plato's opinion, possesses all these elements. The agent is God; the source, matter; the form, the shape and the arrangement of the visible world. The pattern is doubtless the model according to which God has made this great and most beautiful

10 operis pulcherrimi fecit. Propositum, propter quod fecit. Quaeris, quod sit propositum deo? Bonitas. Ita certe Plato ait: "Quae deo faciendi mundum fuit causa? Bonus est; bono nulla cuiusquam boni invidia est. Fecit itaque quam optimum potuit." Fer ergo, iudex, sententiam et pronuntia, quis tibi videatur verissimum dicere, non quis verissimum dicat. Id enim tam supra nos est quam ipsa veritas.

11 Haec, quae ab Aristotele et Platone ponitur, turba causarum aut nimium multa aut nimium pauca conprendit. Nam si, quocumque remoto quid effici non potest, id causam iudicant esse faciendi, pauca dixerunt. Ponant inter causas tempus; nihil sine tempore potest fieri. Ponant locum; si non fuerit, ubi fiat aliquid, ne fiet quidem. Ponant motum; nihil sine hoc nec fit nec perit. Nulla sine motu ars,

12 nulla mutatio est. Sed nos nunc primam et generalem quaerimus causam. Haec simplex esse debet; nam et materia simplex est. Quaerimus, quid sit causa? Ratio scilicet faciens, id est deus.[1] Ista enim, quaecumque rettulistis, non sunt multae et singulae causae, sed ex una pendent, ex ea, quae

13 faciet. Formam dicis causam esse? Hanc inponit artifex operi; pars causae est, non causa. Exemplar quoque non est causa, sed instrumentum causae necessarium. Sic necessarium est exemplar artifici,

[1] *id est deus* was regarded as a gloss by Schweighäuser.

[a] The Stoic view (see § 2 of this letter), besides making the four categories of "substance," "form," "variety," and "variety of relation," regarded material things as the only things which possessed being. The Stoics thus differ from Aristotle and Plato in holding that nothing is real except matter; besides, they relate everything to one ultimate cause, the acting force or efficient cause.

[b] *i.e.*, the λόγος σπερματικός, the creative force in nature, that is, Providence, or the will of Zeus.

creation. The purpose is his object in so doing. Do you ask what God's purpose is? It is goodness. Plato, at any rate, says: "What was God's reason for creating the world? God is good, and no good person is grudging of anything that is good. Therefore, God made it the best world possible." Hand down your opinion, then, O judge; state who seems to you to say what is truest, and not who says what is absolutely true. For to do that is as far beyond our ken as truth itself.

This throng of causes, defined by Aristotle and by Plato, embraces either too much or too little.[a] For if they regard as "causes" of an object that is to be made everything without which the object cannot be made, they have named too few. Time must be included among the causes; for nothing can be made without time. They must also include place; for if there be no place where a thing can be made, it will not be made. And motion too; nothing is either made or destroyed without motion. There is no art without motion, no change of any kind. Now, however, I am searching for the first, the general cause; this must be simple, inasmuch as matter, too, is simple. Do we ask what cause is? It is surely Creative Reason,[b]—in other words, God. For those elements to which you referred are not a great series of independent causes; they all hinge on one alone, and that will be the creative cause. Do you maintain that form is a cause? This is only what the artist stamps upon his work; it is part of a cause, but not the cause. Neither is the pattern a cause, but an indispensable tool of the cause. His pattern is as

quomodo scalprum, quomodo lima; sine his procedere ars non potest. Non tamen hae partes artis
14 aut causae sunt. "Propositum," inquit, "artificis, propter quod ad faciendum aliquid accedit, causa est." Ut sit causa, non est efficiens causa, sed superveniens. Hae autem innumerabiles sunt; nos de causa generali quaerimus. Illud vero non pro solita ipsis subtilitate dixerunt, totum mundum et consummatum opus causam esse. Multum enim interest inter opus et causam operis.
15 "Aut fer sententiam aut, quod facilius in eiusmodi rebus est, nega tibi liquere et nos reverti iube. "Quid te," inquis, "delectat tempus inter ista conterere, quae tibi nullum affectum eripiunt, nullam cupiditatem abigunt?" Ego quidem ut potiora[1] illa ago ac tracto, quibus pacatur animus, et me prius
16 scrutor, deinde hunc mundum. Ne nunc quidem tempus, ut existimas, perdo. Ista enim omnia, si non concidantur nec in hanc subtilitatem inutilem distrahantur, attollunt et levant animum, qui gravi sarcina pressus explicari cupit et reverti ad illa, quorum fuit. Nam corpus hoc animi pondus ac poena est; premente illo urgetur, in vinclis est, nisi accessit philosophia et illum respirare rerum naturae spectaculo iussit et

[1] *ut potiora* Hense; *peiora* or *priora* MSS.

[a] *i.e.*, restate the question and hear the evidence again.

indispensable to the artist as the chisel or the file; without these, art can make no progress. But for all that, these things are neither parts of the art, nor causes of it. "Then," perhaps you will say, "the purpose of the artist, that which leads him to undertake to create something, is the cause." It may be a cause; it is not, however, the efficient cause, but only an accessory cause. But there are countless accessory causes; what we are discussing is the general cause. Now the statement of Plato and Aristotle is not in accord with their usual penetration, when they maintain that the whole universe, the perfectly wrought work, is a cause. For there is a great difference between a work and the cause of a work.

Either give your opinion, or, as is easier in cases of this kind, declare that the matter is not clear and call for another hearing.[a] But you will reply: "What pleasure do you get from wasting your time on these problems, which relieve you of none of your emotions, rout none of your desires?" So far as I am concerned, I treat and discuss them as matters which contribute greatly toward calming the spirit, and I search myself first, and then the world about me. And not even now am I, as you think, wasting my time. For all these questions, provided that they be not chopped up and torn apart into such unprofitable refinements, elevate and lighten the soul, which is weighted down by a heavy burden and desires to be freed and to return to the elements of which it was once a part. For this body of ours is a weight upon the soul and its penance; as the load presses down the soul is crushed and is in bondage, unless philosophy has come to its assistance and has bid it take fresh courage by contemplating the

a terrenis ad divina dimisit. Haec libertas eius est, haec evagatio; subducit interim se custodiae, in qua
17 tenetur, et caelo reficitur. Quemadmodum artifices[1] alicuius rei subtilioris, quae intentione oculos defetigat, si malignum habent et precarium[2] lumen, in publicum prodeunt et in aliqua regione ad populi otium dedicata oculos libera luce delectant; sic animus in hoc tristi et obscuro domicilio clusus, quotiens potest, apertum petit et in rerum naturae contemplatione requiescit.

18 Sapiens adsectatorque sapientiae adhaeret quidem in corpore suo, sed optima sui parte abest et cogitationes suas ad sublimia intendit. Velut sacramento rogatus hoc, quod vivit, stipendium putat. Et ita formatus est, ut illi nec amor vitae nec odium sit, patiturque mortalia, quamvis sciat ampliora superesse.
19 Interdicis mihi inspectione rerum naturae, a toto abductum redigis in partem? Ego non quaeram, quae sint initia universorum? Quis rerum formator? Quis omnia in uno mersa et materia inerti convoluta discreverit? Non quaeram, quis sit istius artifex mundi? Qua ratione tanta magnitudo in legem et ordinem venerit? Quis sparsa collegerit, confusa distinxerit, in una deformitate iacentibus faciem diviserit? Unde lux tanta fundatur? Ignis sit, an

[1] *ex* after *artifices* deleted by Haase.

[2] *precarium* O and a MS. of Opsopoeus; *praeclarium* or *praeclarum* pVLPb.

[a] According to the Stoics the soul, which consisted of fire or breath and was a part of the divine essence, rose at death into the ether and became one with the stars. Seneca elsewhere (*Consolatio ad Marciam*) states that the soul went through a sort of purifying process,—a view which may have had some influence on Christian thought. The souls of the good, the Stoics maintained, were destined to last until the end of the world, the souls of the bad to be extinguished before that time.

universe, and has turned it from things earthly to things divine. There it has its liberty, there it can roam abroad[a]; meantime it escapes the custody in which it is bound, and renews its life in heaven. Just as skilled workmen, who have been engaged upon some delicate piece of work which wearies their eyes with straining, if the light which they have is niggardly or uncertain, go forth into the open air and in some park devoted to the people's recreation delight their eyes in the generous light of day; so the soul, imprisoned as it has been in this gloomy and darkened house, seeks the open sky whenever it can, and in the contemplation of the universe finds rest.

The wise man, the seeker after wisdom, is bound closely, indeed, to his body, but he is an absentee so far as his better self is concerned, and he concentrates his thoughts upon lofty things. Bound, so to speak, to his oath of allegiance, he regards the period of life as his term of service. He is so trained that he neither loves nor hates life; he endures a mortal lot, although he knows that an ampler lot is in store for him. Do you forbid me to contemplate the universe? Do you compel me to withdraw from the whole and restrict me to a part? May I not ask what are the beginnings of all things, who moulded the universe, who took the confused and conglomerate mass of sluggish matter, and separated it into its parts? May I not inquire who is the Master-Builder of this universe, how the mighty bulk was brought under the control of law and order, who gathered together the scattered atoms, who separated the disordered elements and assigned an outward form to elements that lay in one vast shapelessness? Or whence came all the expanse of light? And whether is it fire, or

20 aliquid igne lucidius? Ego ista non quaeram? Ego nesciam, unde descenderim? Semel haec mihi videnda sint, an saepe nascendum? Quo hinc iturus sim? Quae sedes exspectet animam solutam legibus servitutis humanae? Vetas me caelo interesse, id
21 est iubes me vivere capite demisso? Maior sum et ad maiora genitus, quam ut mancipium sim mei corporis, quod equidem non aliter aspicio quam vinclum aliquod libertati meae circumdatum. Hoc itaque oppono fortunae, in quo resistat, nec per illud ad me ullum transire vulnus sino. Quicquid in me potest iniuriam pati, hoc est. In hoc obnoxio domi-
22 cilio animus liber habitat. Numquam me caro ista conpellet ad metum, numquam ad indignam bono simulationem; numquam in honorem huius corpusculi mentiar. Cum visum erit, distraham cum illo societatem. Et nunc tamen, dum haeremus, non erimus aequis partibus socii; animus ad se omne ius ducet. Contemptus corporis sui certa libertas est.

23 Ut ad propositum revertar, huic libertati multum conferet et illa, de qua modo loquebamur, inspectio. Nempe universa ex materia et ex deo constant. Deus ista temperat, quae circumfusa rectorem secuntur et ducem. Potentius autem est ac pretiosius, quod facit,
24 quod est deus, quam materia patiens dei. Quem in

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[a] The sequence of elements from the earth outwards and upwards was earth, water, air, and fire. The upper fire was ether. Zeno (quoted by Cicero, *Acad.* i. 11. 39) refused to acknowledge a fifth essence: *statuebat enim ignem esse ipsam naturam, quae quaeque gigneret, et mentem et sensus.*

[b] The "prison of the body" is a frequent figure in Stoic as in all philosophy. See, for example, § 16 of this letter, "the soul in bondage."

[c] A restatement of the previous remark made in this letter; see note on § 11.

something even brighter than fire?[a] Am I not to ask these questions? Must I be ignorant of the heights whence I have descended? Whether I am to see this world but once, or to be born many times? What is my destination afterwards? What abode awaits my soul on its release from the laws of slavery among men? Do you forbid me to have a share in heaven? In other words, do you bid me live with my head bowed down? No, I am above such an existence; I was born to a greater destiny than to be a mere chattel of my body, and I regard this body as nothing but a chain[b] which manacles my freedom. Therefore, I offer it as a sort of buffer to fortune, and shall allow no wound to penetrate through to my soul. For my body is the only part of me which can suffer injury. In this dwelling, which is exposed to peril, my soul lives free. Never shall this flesh drive me to feel fear, or to assume any pretence that is unworthy of a good man. Never shall I lie in order to honour this petty body. When it seems proper, I shall sever my connexion with it. And at present, while we are bound together, our alliance shall nevertheless not be one of equality; the soul shall bring all quarrels before its own tribunal. To despise our bodies is sure freedom.

To return to our subject; this freedom will be greatly helped by the contemplation of which we were just speaking. All things are made up of matter and of God[c]; God controls matter, which encompasses him and follows him as its guide and leader. And that which creates, in other words, God, is more powerful and precious than matter, which is acted upon by God. God's place in the

hoc mundo locum deus obtinet, hunc in homine animus. Quod est illic materia, id in nobis corpus est; serviant ergo deteriora melioribus. Fortes simus adversus fortuita. Non contremescamus iniurias, non vulnera, non vincula, non egestatem. Mors quid est? Aut finis aut transitus. Nec desinere timeo, idem est enim, quod non coepisse, nec transire, quia nusquam tam anguste ero. VALE.

universe corresponds to the soul's relation to man. World-matter corresponds to our mortal body; therefore let the lower serve the higher. Let us be brave in the face of hazards. Let us not fear wrongs, or wounds, or bonds, or poverty. And what is death? It is either the end, or a process of change. I have no fear of ceasing to exist; it is the same as not having begun. Nor do I shrink from changing into another state, because I shall, under no conditions, be as cramped as I am now. Farewell.

Freedom from mortal life.

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